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A RELATION
OF A VOYAGE TO GUIANA
BY
ROBERT HARCOURT

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by Marc Gerard
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A RELATION
OF A
VOYAGE TO GUIANA

BY
ROBERT HARCOURT
1613

With PURCHAS'S TRANSCRIPT of a REPORT
made at HARCOURT'S instance
on the
MARRAWINI DISTRICT

Edjted
with Introduction & Notes
by
SIR C. ALEXANDER HARRIS
K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O.

LONDON
Printed for the HAKLUYT SOCIETY
1928

PREFACE

IN spite of a danger that prefaces are seldom read, they remain an almost essential medium for some explanatory remarks.

Seeing that in the publications of the Hakluyt Society geographical and descriptive details are the Society's first concern, the Introduction to the present edition is primarily devoted to Guiana and the light thrown upon its history, geography and ethnology by the study of Harcourt's treatise. In separate special Notes I deal with Harcourt himself and with the treatise from the bibliographer's point of view. Compression has seemed essential because Harcourt's treatise is not a long one nor a great work. The Introduction must preserve its relativity.

The historical section of the Introduction would have been worded differently if before the pages were set up I had seen Mr James A. Williamson's *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon 1604-1668* (Oxford, 1923). I can but apologise for overlooking it, partly perhaps owing to absence abroad. I am greatly indebted to Prof. A. P. Newton for mentioning the book in the course of a chance conversation with him. It is a piece of first class work; there are but few points in which I may disagree with its conclusions.

The text now reproduced is that of the first edition of the *Relation*, as nearly as possible in its original form, the basis being a photograph of the copy in the British Museum.

Subsequently it seemed desirable to record in this volume the additions made by Harcourt in the second edition of the book; and after consultation with Mr Heawood (the Treasurer of the Society) App. I was added.

And then after the volume was practically complete, in connexion with one of my notes I examined carefully for the first time the anonymous document preserved by Purchas which is reproduced in App. II. As shewn in the introductory note to that appendix this is clearly part of a report made for Harcourt by, or under the direction of, Unton Fisher: it is the complement to Harcourt's own treatise; and demands simultaneous reproduction.

It is impossible to hope that even with the utmost care one has entirely avoided slips or omissions; certain variations in spelling of names have been left so as to avoid interference with the type.

For one thing I gladly use the preface—to express, first my warm acknowledgments to the officers of the British Museum, particularly in the Map Room, and above all to Mr H. Beharrell, for unfailing courtesy and helpfulness; secondly my admiration for that wonderful work, the *Oxford Dictionary*, in enabling the student to follow the usages of any period of the English language.

C. ALEXANDER HARRIS

GREENHILL BROW

FARNHAM

28 September 1927

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SCHEDULE

OF REFERENCES & ABBREVIATIONS WITH BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

N.B. If there are slight variations in the reference to the same work and occasional reduplication of a full title it will be understood that these have been left to avoid unnecessary alterations in the revision of the type.

Afr. Pilot. *African Pilot*, an Admiralty publication with important geographical data.

Ath. Ox.—*Athenae Oxonienses*. By Anthony à Wood. 3rd ed. 1815.

Braz. App., with vol. and page.—The Appendices to the British Case and Counter Case in the arbitration with Brazil concerning the boundary of British Guiana 1901-4. See also under *Ven.* App. *infra*.

Vol. III of the Appendix to the British case in this matter is a complete collection of all Sir Robert Schomburgk's boundary reports and memoranda. Cf. also Mr de Villiers' note on the subject in *Storm van 's Gravesande* (Hakluyt Society, ser. II, vol. XXVI, p. III).

Cal. S.P.—*Calendar of State Papers*. See under *S.P. Dom. and Col.*

Coudreau.—*Chez nos Indiens*. Par Henri Coudreau, Paris, 1893. A valuable record of journey and exploration in much of the country covered by Harcourt's *Relation*, now French Guiana or Cayenne.

Counc. Reg.—Council Minutes, Reign of — (in Public Record Office).

Dict. Nat. Biog.—*Dictionary of National Biography*.

Encycl. (or *Enc.*) *Brit.*—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Eng. Hist. Rev.—*English Historical Review*.

Hakl., with vol. and page.—Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Folio ed. 1599-1600.

Hak. Soc., with ser. and vol.—The publications of the Hakluyt Society, a complete list of which is appended to certain of the works issued.

Oxf. Dict., with *s.v.*—*A new English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Edited by James A. Murray. Oxford, 1901.

Pomet, Hist. Drugs.—*A Complete History of Drugs*. By M. Pomet. Done into English, apparently edited by John Hill. London, 1748.

Purchas, with vol. and page or book and chap.—[Samuel] *Purchas his Pilgrims or Hakluytus Posthumus*. Fo. ed. 1625.

The arrangement of this work is a little puzzling at first. It is divided into four parts, with a volume to each part, but so that the pagination runs on over two vols.: this in a manner separates vols. I and II from vols. III and IV. By a sort of cross division each of these

pairs of vols. is divided into ten "books," five to each volume: and each book is divided into chapters. So that a complete reference would cite volume, book and chapter, and page.

Purchas *his Pilgrimage, or Relation of the World and the Religions*. . . must be distinguished carefully from the better known work: it is his own account or review of history based on the documents reproduced in Hakluyt's voyages and his own *Pilgrims (Hakluytus Posthumus)*. The 1st ed. was in 1613, the 4th ed. a good deal enlarged and varied, fo. 1616.

Ral. (*or* Raleigh), with vol. and page, chiefly used in App. II.—Schomburgk's edition of Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (Hak. Soc. III, 1848).

Rich. Schomb. vol. and page, or §.—The translation of Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen in Britisch Guiana (Travels in British Guiana)*, by Dr. W. E. Roth, published officially at Georgetown and not accessible everywhere.

Richard was younger brother of the explorer and Boundary Commissioner Sir R. Schomburgk.

Schomburgk (with varying reference but usually to his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie*).—The reports or other works of Sir Robert Schomburgk which must always remain amongst the leading authorities on Guiana from every aspect. (See also under *Braz. App.*)

Smith.—*The True Travels Adventures etc. of Captain John Smith*. London, 1630. Edited for the "English Scholars Library" by Edward Arber. Birmingham, 1884.

S. Am. Pilot.—*The South American Pilot*, one of a series of Admiralty publications. See *supra*, Afr. Pil.

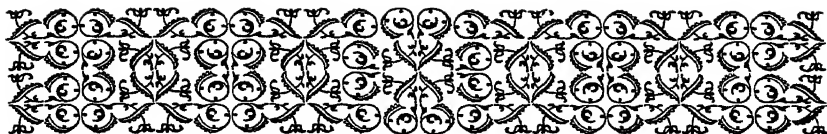
S.P. Dom. and Col.—The Calendars of State Papers, Domestic or Colonial, issued by the Record Office.

Stow.—*Stow's Annales* or a General Chronicle of England begun by John Stow, continued and augmented into the end of this present yeare 1631 by Edw. Howes' Gent. London, 1631.

Timehri, with ser. and vol.—The journal of the Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana; a mine of valuable contributions to the history, ethnology and natural history of Guiana.

Ven. App., with vol. and page (sometimes *C.C. App.*).—The Appendices to the British Case and Counter Case in the arbitration with Venezuela as to the boundary of British Guiana 1896–1899.

These and the volumes in the Brazilian matter are moderately accessible, having been presented to many important Libraries in the British Empire and U.S.A. Moreover the Spanish and Portuguese transcripts from original archives which were used in the above-mentioned volumes were collected and presented to the British Museum where they are recorded as Add. MSS. 36,314–36,353 and 37,042–4.



INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Historical Survey

I. SOURCES of the HISTORY of GUIANA

NO one who has been asked to undertake this edition of Harcourt's treatise because of exceptional opportunity for studying the subject to which it relates there seems to lie a special responsibility: there is at least the obligation to buoy the course for those who may come after.

There was a certain hope at first that this introduction might be the occasion of a brief but authoritative sketch of the history of colonisation in Guiana. But the limit of time imposed by the exigencies of the Hakluyt Society makes this impossible. After years of specialised study numerous points of interest still remain to be elucidated, and these too often rest on such slight, vague and often conflicting references that only exhaustive examination of all sources will justify a final pronouncement. For this much time is needed. To take a particular instance in point: the identity of Groenewegen, the Dutch commandeur in Essequibo, became important for the British case in the Venezuelan Boundary question: the combined strength of the staff¹ then working on the case was turned on to the subject with the result recorded by the Editors of *Storm van 's*

¹ To the staff who worked under my direction in the two Guiana arbitration cases, where extreme accuracy and patience were required, I find it difficult to record my indebtedness. Mr de Villiers, my co-editor of *Storm*, and Dr Edmundson were with me throughout. C. A. H.

*Gravesande*¹, and separately by Dr Edmundson². Again the labour bestowed for the purposes of the Brazilian arbitration on reconstructing the story of the Indian tribes under Dutch influence³, from vague but repeated references in Portuguese documents, was very severe, demanding exclusive concentration for a prolonged period. The time required to disentangle Harcourt's Indian names, with similar confidence, is not available.

The principal and most authoritative sources for the history of Guiana are those which were examined and analysed for the two great boundary arbitrations in which the British Government on behalf of British Guiana was engaged between 1895 and 1904. Those who write on Guiana should realise what is to be got from the Cases and Appendices on each side in the Venezuelan and Brazilian disputes⁴. Probably the mere fact of a document being "official" frightens some students. Yet rarely has such a body of information on any historical question been brought together and thoroughly examined as was collected for the use of the arbitrators in those two cases. To Sir J. A. Swettenham is due the credit for first suggesting detailed search in Holland. Mr J. H. Reddan quickly followed with his missions to the archives in Spain⁵. When in 1895 the Venezuelan question became acute Professor Burr and Dr de Haan of the United States were detailed to examine the archives at the Hague and produced some excellent work. Later on Dr Edmundson did valuable

¹ Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvi, pp. 146-52.

² *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vol. xvi (1901), pp. 640-599.

³ *Braz.* British Counter Case, ch. v, § (iv).

⁴ Mr Rodway (in his *Guiana*) and Dr Roth (in his trans. of Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen* etc.) would have done well to consult them. Mr V. T. Harlow (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. lvi) made some use of them. The editors of *Storm van 's Gravesande* (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvi-vii) naturally worked almost entirely upon them.

⁵ Chiefly at Simancas and Seville. To personal knowledge the Archivo de Indias at Seville contains a wonderful collection of manuscripts, full of choice materials for history, only partly touched as yet: the labour of investigating uncatalogued files is very great.

research in Portugal. And Mr J. A. J. de Villiers supplemented these researches in many directions as required. All these researches were coordinated under the direction of the present editor, who again had to satisfy the Law Officers that the strictest test of evidence was applied. In the early part of 1896, in the first Blue book on the question¹, certain slips had been made through lack of time to examine original documents. But the formal Cases and Appendices may for the area with which they were concerned be reckoned as bed-rock of evidence.

Not that these sources cover the whole ground. There are still mss. which have barely been touched²: those in the British Museum have probably not been exhausted: there may be private collections. The wealth of material in the works of Hakluyt and Purchas only reveals itself by repeated examination. And there remain the many works on Dutch, French and Brazilian Guiana.

This then is the mark laid out for them that follow.

In this introduction it is not proposed (for time precludes the rest) to do more than sketch the early history of Guiana, indicating the points whereon further evidence is required. This might have been made unnecessary by Mr Harlow's recent volume³ on the West Indies and Guiana had he not made certain material slips in following his authorities and even in referring to documents which he used⁴. No old writer can be accepted except as to facts of which he was obviously

¹ Parl. Paper of 1896, cd. 7972.

² Compare note 5 on previous page. Only partial use indeed was made of the Spanish and Portuguese transcripts, which were ultimately collected by the present editor and given by the Government to the British Museum, where they are now Addl. mss. 36314, etc.

³ *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667*. Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. LVI. But Mr Williamson's book referred to in the Preface fills the gap.

⁴ This criticism is made with most complete sympathy: it is so extraordinarily easy to miss little points or even get them wrong on one's notes.

an eye-witness and could be trusted not to distort. The best men get hearsay wrong. It is essential to compare and check every narrative; and only when and so far as this can be done will there be any possibility of a final pronouncement on many points.

II. EARLY SETTLEMENT of GUIANA

The name Guiana¹ covers all territory between the main stream of the Orinoco, the greater part of the Rio Negro and the lower portion of the Amazon. As there is a definite water connexion between the waters of the Orinoco and the Amazon by way of the Cassiquiare which became known to early travellers, it was not uncommon at one time to speak of the Island of Guiana. At the present day a great part of the territory included in this area is still Guiana, divided up between the British, the Dutch and the French: much of the western portion remains with the successor of Spain, Venezuela: the southern districts belong to Brazil. The modern Guiana as a political unit has a much smaller area than the "island" of the seventeenth century.

The early attempts to explore and settle Guiana were not confined to the English. As with practically all of South America, the Spaniards were first in the field. Scott² records an attempt by Pedro de Acosta in 1530 to form a settlement in "Parema"³: and again a definite attempt in 1568 under Gaspar de Sotelle to settle 126 families from Spain in Cayenne. But there appears to be no confirmatory evidence of these two efforts: the earliest

¹ For the derivation of the name, see a not very convincing note in the *Encycl. Brit.* s.v. Guiana, 11th ed. vol. XII, p. 674.

² Major Scott's ms. *Description of Guiana*—B.M. Sloane mss. 3662—was first unearthed many years back by Mr N. Darnell Davis, one of the most industrious investigators of West Indian History; it was reprinted, not too perfectly, for the British Case in the Venezuela matter (*Ven. App.* i, p. 167). It has been reproduced recently by Mr Harlow (*op. cit.*).

³ It has been suggested that this was Barima Point near the mouth of the Orinoco, but it is extremely doubtful.

account of the country extant would seem to be the despatch written¹ by Don Antonio Berrio on 1 January 1593 for the Royal Council in Spain: he describes his attempts to get into Guiana from the New Kingdom of Granada, ending in a journey down the Orinoco and the first steps towards settling the island of Trinidad near the mouth of that river. This account shews that the mouth of the Orinoco and the coast of Guiana were vaguely known to the Spaniards, but there was no settlement in that area. Nor when Raleigh in 1595 made his celebrated discovery of Guiana² was there any permanent settlement on the Orinoco; the town of Santo Thomé de Guayana, not very far up the main stream of the Orinoco, was definitely projected in 1596, and apparently established³ before the end of 1597. But this little town, despite the second part of its name, can hardly be considered as in Guiana. Nor indeed did Raleigh's voyage really touch Guiana⁴. But the expeditions which he sent out in 1596—that under Keymis in the early part of the year striking first the Arrowari—and that which went in the pinnace *Wat* leaving England on 14 October 1596 (described by Masham) arriving first at "Cape Cecil" and Wiapoco—both coasted along Guiana. Almost immediately afterwards the Dutch expedition under Cabeliau made a very complete visit to the Guiana coast. Still there was no attempt at settlement. Various statements have been made to the effect that the Dutch had actually settled in Guiana prior to this period: these were accepted on behalf of the British Government in the first

¹ *Ven. App.* i, pp. 1 *sqq.*

² *Discoverie of the Large and Rich and Beautifull Empire of Guiana*, included in Hakluyt, vol. III, p. 627:—edited by Schomburgk (Hak. Soc. 1st ser. vol. III, 1848).

³ *Ven. App.* i, p. 16. Domingo de Ibarguen 27 October 1597 speaks of "Santo Thome which is the town established at the entrance of Guiana."

⁴ On his second voyage in 1617 Raleigh did strike the coast at the Oyapok and work some distance along it before making across for Trinidad.

Blue Book on the Venezuela controversy in 1896: but on closer and critical examination they were abandoned: the most that the British Government could maintain in their Case was that in 1598, if not before, the Dutch were making voyages to Guiana, and that by 1613 they had three or four settlements between the Orinoco and the Amazon¹. So it was apparently an Englishman, Capt. Charles Leigh, who first made an attempt at a settlement of which we have first-hand evidence.

Leigh had voyaged both to the north and south of the continent: he is stated to have been to the Guiana coast before the voyage of which he has left an account. Leaving Woolwich in the *Olive Plant* on 21 March 1603/4² he sighted Guiana on 14 May 1604, and on arrival at Wiapoco established relations with the Indians; he then took possession of the country "in the sight of the Indians" on 22 May 1604. He gave the name Caroleigh to Wiapoco and Olivoleigh to "Arrikowarye": the site which he had chosen for his provisional settlement he called Principium or Mount Howard—"to honour the remembrance of my Lord Admiral." From that place he dates his letter to his brother Sir Oliph³ Leigh, begging for reinforcements, and explaining that, having had considerable trouble with some of his party, he had decided to send back the ship, keeping thirty-five men and boys. This was in July 1604, and they would arrive by October. The *Phoenix* (apparently the *Olive Plant* renamed) was shortly despatched and arrived in January 1604/5 to find the settlement in rather a critical position. Leigh, already apparently deserted by some of his men, had arranged to return by this ship and make further arrangements for the welfare of the colony, but he was carried off by fever just on

¹ See *Ven. Brit. Case*, pp. 21, 22, and documents cited.

² Purchas (vol. iv, p. 1250) says 1604, but obviously in error: 1604 did not begin till 25 March.

³ This seems to be the correct spelling—see *D. N. Biog.* s.v. Leigh, Charles.

the eve of departure. A supply ship, the *Olive Blossom*, despatched on 14 April 1605 failed to reach its destination. The remnant of his colony seem to have left on the returning *Phoenix* or to have got back to Europe by degrees in Dutch ships or otherwise¹.

Scott in his *Description of Guiana* referred to on p. 4 mentions an otherwise unrecorded French attempt to colonise the Wiapoco in 1607-9.

The next adventurer is the author of the *Relation*, Robert Harcourt. It seems not improbable that he knew Leigh and was anxious to take advantage of the chances which he had been forced to abandon². On 13 February 1608/9 Robert Harcourt and others³ received a licence to travel and exercise discipline on board ships with stipulations for securing to them the benefits of any discoveries which they might make. In little over a month they were on their way for Guiana. They reached Wiapoco on 17 May 1609, and after many conferences with the Indians and various journeys up the nearer rivers, took formal possession of the country on 14 August 1609⁴, by turf and by twig, in behalf of "our Sovereigne Lord King James"—of "a part, in name of the whole continent of Guiana." On 18 August⁵ Harcourt left Wiapoco after placing his brother Michael in charge of the embryo settlement, with Edward Harvey as his assistant and Edward Gifford as lieutenant. Some twenty others were left with them. Whether these included Henry Baldwin⁶ and the three

¹ This brief outline was already in type before the editor had seen Mr Williamson's book on the English in Guiana, as to which now see Preface, p. vii *supra*.

² Compare text, p. 75 *infra*.

³ Pub. Rec. Office, *Patent Roll (Chanc.)* 6 Jas. I, pt 4, no. 3. The licence was issued to "our well-beloved Robert Harecourte of Stanton Harcourt in the County of Oxford" and conferred on him authority as Chief Commander, etc.—in case of his death to Captain Michael Harcourt and Captain Edward Fisher jointly during both lives and severally to the survivor, and then to Holland and Yardley.

⁴ See text, p. 110.

⁵ See text, p. 116.

⁶ See text, p. 87.

others who were sent to help the Chief Leonard it is not easy to decide. Harcourt himself coasted westward with a view to enlarging his discoveries. At Caiane (Cayenne) he left four or five men to keep touch with the Caribs¹. He left another small contingent under his cousin Unton Fisher at Wia Wia² with special instructions to explore the Marrawini river and get at the truth about Manoa. He left the mainland on his homeward journey on 10 September 1609. The narrative shews that Michael Harcourt did a good deal in the way of exploring and "worthily continued the possession full three yeeres compleat," that at Arawari he repeated the formalities of taking possession which Harcourt had performed in 1609, and that he died soon after his return to England. Fisher, in pursuance of his instructions, went some 300 miles up the Marrawini river, but was forced to return by lack of provisions, and shortly afterwards was drowned³. We have only slight information⁴ as to the efforts and sacrifices made by Harcourt to maintain his parties in the little settlement, and it is doubtful whether after his brother's return he managed to keep things going till the time when he received the formal grant of the country from the Amazon to the Essequibo on 28 August 1613⁵.

Meanwhile apart from the French and Dutch, of whose trade we pick up traces during all this period, other English also were attracted by the lure of Guiana; and before Harcourt had got back to Bristol⁶, after the tiresome delays which spoiled the end of his voyage,

¹ See text, p. 85: possibly this had happened earlier.

² See text, pp. 118-19. For what is evidently Fisher's report, or based on his report, found since this type was set up, see Appendix 11, *infra*, p. 163.

³ See text, p. 120 *ad fin.*

⁴ The Harcourt papers (vol. 1, pp. 81-108) simply refer to his general losses through his enterprise. Hume (*Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 302) says that the remainder of his followers came back with Roe (this might be in 1611 or 1612) but no authority is given. For possible references to his people see *Ven. App.* 1, pp. 29, 60.

⁵ See p. 10 *infra*.

⁶ See text, p. 126.

Sir Thomas Roe must have been well advanced in the preparation for the voyage which is recorded by Howes¹. On 24 February 1609/10 Roe is said to have set sail from Plymouth, arriving in the Amazon by the end of April: he devoted himself chiefly to an exploration of the Amazon but later went up the Wiapoco, perhaps further than Harcourt had done, and also apparently into other rivers. He is said to have spent some thirteen months on the coast and to have arrived back in England in July 1611. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of his proceedings: he must have found Harcourt's parties in their settlements; indeed his journey up the Wiapoco was probably aided or even suggested by them, and the statement that the residue of Harcourt's people came back with him may be true in part or may refer to a later voyage by him or on his behalf. There is no absolute impossibility in such a statement². And quite intelligible is the assertion contained in a contemporary document³ that "he had seen more of the coast from the river Amazon to the Orinoco than any Englishman alive." Howes further tells us that twice between 1611 and 1614—the year when he was sent as Ambassador to the Great Mogul—he had sent expeditions to Guiana and had supported twenty men there. So far as this is accurate Roe kept up the link of English connexion with Guiana while Harcourt was completing arrangements for obtaining his formal grant. He is most probably the man intended in the Spanish *précis* dated April 1614 of information gained from certain Dutchmen⁴—

¹ Stow's *Annales*, p. 1022. In placing Roe before Harcourt Mr Harlow *op. cit.* is misled by Captain John Smith speaking of events of which he had knowledge only at second hand (see Arber's ed. p. 896). Careful comparison of dates and documents should have shewn the error.

² Hume in his *Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 302, but without quoting his authority. See note on previous page.

³ *Cal. State Papers Colonial*, 1574-1660, p. 11.

⁴ *Ven. App.* 1, pp. 39, 40. The same document goes on to refer to what may be an exploration of the Wiapoco by Michael Harcourt. See text, p. 115.

"A man named Tomas Rey has made a notable fort in the mouth of the River Amazon where he makes great profits."

In July 1613 Harcourt's petitions for Letters Patent "of a parte of Gwyana in the West Indies, haweinge heretofore with greate travaile and charge discovered that Country and inhabited there by himself and his friends for the space of these three or foure yeares last past and still houldeth the possession thereof without impeachment or interruption" were duly approved, and on 28 August a grant of the area from the Amazon to the Essequibo issued to Harcourt, Challoner, Rovenzon and the heirs of Harcourt, as recited in the preamble to the scheme of settlement appended to the treatise¹. But here his progress ended. Apparently his appeal to the manhood of the nation met with little response, and we are without precise information as to the obstacles which seem to have prevented further settlement. The only definite statement we have is in the new Epistle Dedicatory to the second edition of the *Relation*: "But it pleased an Omniscent God...to suffer many mighty crosses and grievous troubles to fall upon me, in the midst of my preparations for that Action, which interrupted the same, being then brought to good forwardnes."

When in December 1617 it is recorded that "Capt. Harvey who was three years with Robert Harcourt in Guiana² has gone again to try his fortune there," making the River Wiapoco his first harbour, there is no suggestion that Harcourt was behind him—rather the contrary. Of Harvey's success we have no record: he must have arrived on the coast while Raleigh was still prosecuting his last fateful voyage. Such public interest as then existed would be concentrated on the more celebrated effort. But Harvey's attempt might well have

¹ See text, pp. 136 *sqq.* The grant is in P.R.O. Pat. Roll 11 James I, pt 9, no. 5.

² See text, p. 115 *ad fin.* Sainsbury (*Cal. S. P. Col.* 1574) without giving reasons identifies this man with Sir John Harvey of Virginia fame.

encouraged Harcourt to hope for further success ~~and~~ may in part account for his unwillingness¹ to surrender his rights when North approached him. For North, who had been with Raleigh on his last voyage, came back full of the design to establish a plantation in Guiana and doubtless very reluctant to let anyone else share the honour and glory. North had influential friends who, having failed to come to terms with Harcourt, petitioned the Privy Council for the defeasance of his grant²: eventually orders were issued³ for the grant to the new venturers with privileges and immunities "as contayned in a grant formerly made to Robert Harecourt of some of that parte." The description of the new limits⁴ is very curious and not too easy to follow, but it covered the area in which Harcourt had actually attempted to form a settlement, and for the time being his activities were barred. His rivals, however, were not much better off: the notorious Gondomar was active at the Court and sought to crush the enterprise. When, in spite of Spanish objection, North set sail from Plymouth on 30 April 1620 the King gave way to one of his panics and within a month the Company were obliged to surrender their charter. North was pursued with messages ordering him to return immediately to England, but before they reached him he had ascended the Amazon river and settled about 100 miles from its mouth, where he seems to have found a settlement partly

¹ Mr Harlow (*op. cit.* p. lxxvi), citing State Papers, states that North entered into negotiation with Harcourt for the surrender of his rights.

² *Cal. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 21, cites a letter of 30 April 1619 respecting "a great project for a plantation upon the river Amazon near Guiana, . . . Captain North, brother of Lord North to be Governor."

³ *Counc. Reg. Fas. I*, vol. iv, p. 158 and p. 218.

⁴ "The places where they shall have their Plantation or use their Trade and trafficke shall extend from the River of Wyapoco to five Degrees of Southerly Latitude, from any parte or Braunch of the River of Amazons otherwise called Oreliana, and for Longitude into the Lande to be Lymitted from Sea to Sea" (*Counc. Reg.* 1619, see n. 3). Harcourt in his statement of the facts in the Epistle Dedicatory to the 2nd ed. of his treatise recites the grant as between Wiapoco and Amazonas.

Dutch, partly English and Irish—evidently the remains of previous efforts¹. North himself, after spending some months in the new Colony, returned² “wel fraught,” but was arrested almost as soon as he arrived home, and on 6 January 1620/21 was sent to the Tower. He left behind Capt. Charles Parker and Capt. Thomas Painton, who seem to have been responsible for an extended exploration of the Amazon. According to Harcourt’s account³, which is clearly at first hand, this took place after North had returned. Certain “gentlemen and others being of the company which that noble Captain⁴ Roger North left in the said river of the Amazonas” made the voyage in the *Relief*, a pinnace of 30 tons, and brought back information and stories which Harcourt briefly incorporates in his second edition⁵. The attempt made by North was quite considerable, for we learn from Harcourt⁶ that he “transported 100 of His Majestie’s subjects into those parts and settled them in the said river of the Amazonas.” But the action taken against North and the Company must have taken the heart out of the enterprise. Parker and Painton apparently stuck to a very difficult position for a couple of years, and then left the Amazon for the north and the

¹ Without further documents or much fuller examination of those we have it is difficult to eliminate conjecture. From the known expeditions men may have remained at various points. Others may have been the members of voyages of which we have no record. That the English and Dutch settlers got on well together we know, and there may have been various little trading settlements of mixed nationality on the Guiana coastline: the Spanish records constantly refer to them. At the same time the Spanish reports not improbably confuse facts and refer to the same settlement in different ways. Cf. Williamson (*op. cit.*) on the incident.

² See a letter in *S. P. Dom. James I*, 119, No. 6. This shews that the date of committal was 1620. In such cases the so-called “historical” date needs careful checking.

³ *The Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, 2nd ed. (1626), p. 6.

⁴ Here and elsewhere there is a certain extravagance of courtesy in the manner of reference to North!

⁵ See Appendix 1, *infra*, p. 144.

⁶ See a passage in the Epistle Dedicatory to the 2nd ed.

islands. At the end of 1623 the river was once more practically deserted by the Company.

Brought together by common adversity, North and Harcourt seem to have united¹ to promote a new company of adventurers, which was incorporated in 1626 as the Governor and Company of Noblemen or Gentlemen of England for the plantation of Guiana. In connexion with this revival of his hopes Harcourt published the second edition of the *Relation*². The new company received Letters Patent from the Crown on 2 June 1627³ and apparently in the same year Harcourt left for Guiana, naturally leading his party to his old haunts on the Wiapoco. It would appear that Harcourt was appointed Governor of the Settlements and North Deputy Governor of the Company. From the first, however, the two men seem to have had differences of opinion. Harcourt naturally inclined to the Wiapoco, North as naturally was drawn to some point further east on the Amazon which he had held under his older grant. There is some evidence⁴ that North had the stronger following in the Directorate at home, and that in 1629 or 1630 it had been decided to supersede Harcourt and move the colony to the Amazon. But in any case such dissensions were fatal. We know little more than that the new settlements, in spite of some vigorous support up to 1629, soon faded away⁵. Whether Harcourt ever returned home we cannot say: he is said to have died in Guiana⁶.

Here the story of Harcourt's connexion with Guiana comes to an end. With the abortive company started in

¹ *The Relation* etc., 2nd ed. (1626), Epistle Dedicatory.

² See p. 38 *infra*.

³ *Cal. S. P. Col.* 1574-1660, p. 84.

⁴ We are indebted to Mr Harlow (*op. cit.* p. 148) for turning out a very interesting though wearisome ms. which throws valuable sidelights on this.

⁵ Mr Harlow lays stress on the probability that Pedro Teixeira was instrumental in wiping out all settlements on the Amazon and amongst them North's. Dr Edmundson appears to agree (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* xviii, p. 662). Cf. Mr Williamson, *op. cit.* p. 104. Yet possibly even these died of inanition.

⁶ See p. 34 *infra*.

1631, and the successful effort of Lord Willoughby of Parham some twenty years later to colonise the Surinam river, the present volume is not concerned¹. Nor is this the place to describe the efforts of the Dutch and the French during the same twenty years or to investigate and compare certain conflicting pieces of evidence as to contemporaneous British efforts. The object of this chapter has been to fix as exactly as possible Robert Harcourt's place in the history of British enterprise in Guiana. His share in the practical results is neither greater nor less than that of his contemporaries: all ended in failure till the colonisation of Surinam. The survey disposes of the late Lord Harcourt's jocular contention that by rights all Guiana should have been his if the beer had not turned sour on a shallop of nine tons².

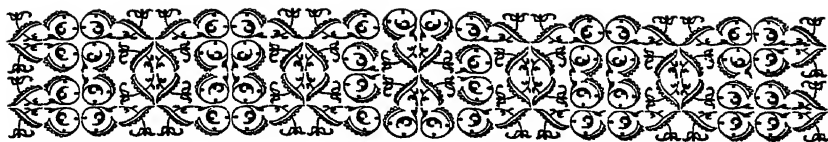
Any suggestion which might be founded on a file dated 1637³ from the archives at Seville that there were still in that year English in Guayapoco (Wiapoco), possibly the remains of Harcourt's last settlement, cannot be accepted without corroboration.

The ultimate apportionment of Guiana is interesting. Before Harcourt's last effort was spent the Dutch had firmly established themselves on the Essequibo and Berbice. Yet after various changes of fortune Great Britain remained masters of the most successful Dutch colony, the Dutch of the one really successful British settlement, and to-day the western portion of Harcourt's grant is British.

¹ Mr Harlow has some useful observations. And see Mr Williamson, *op. cit.*

² First made in a letter to the editor: repeated in a speech to the Corona Club and reproduced in *Timehri*, ser. III, vol. III, p. i (foreword).

³ *Ven. App.* I, p. 110—a vague complaint by Don Pedro de Vivero of foreign activities generally. The first document on the file cited is clearly Don Pedro's statement enclosed with despatches mentioned in the document dated 11 April 1637.



CHAPTER II

The Country, the Natives and the Products

F, however, Harcourt's actual achievement as a coloniser is not greater than those of others, he has left behind observations of special interest regarding the geography, ethnology, natural history and products of the country.

His project of colonisation will call for notice in a separate chapter.

§ i. GEOGRAPHY

The rather meagre details of the explorations made by Harcourt and his party do not afford a very sound basis for discussions of the topography or physical features of the country which he tried to occupy. He himself was disappointed in an attempt to get up the Wiapoco river¹: he gives some details of the country close to the estuary of that river², has something to say of Cayenne³, and finally before leaving the Guiana coast managed to make his way some 40 leagues or 120 miles up the Marrawini river⁴. His brother and cousin whom he left behind did considerable exploration of the Arrawari river⁵, and probably the Wiapoco⁶, and his cousin Unton Fisher who was charged with the exploration of

¹ Text, p. 109 *infra*.

² Text, p. 83.

³ Text, pp. 84-5.

⁴ Text, p. 117.

⁵ Compare text, p. 111 with p. 115.

⁶ The very definite statement as to the exploration of the Wiapoco by an Englishman contained in a précis of information given by a Dutch adventurer in the year 1614 or 1615 (*Ven. App.* 1, p. 40) most probably refers to Michael Harcourt. It definitely states that an Englishman founded settlements on the River Wiapoco prior to the Dutchman: this could not well refer to Roe, who, though he explored the river some time before 1611, apparently left no settlement (see p. 9 *supra*). More-

the Marrawini river is said to have reached a point about 300 miles from the mouth of that river.

On the map specially prepared to illustrate this volume Harcourt's route along the coast of Guiana and his explorations of the rivers are plotted, so as to indicate as nearly as possible the ground which he and his party covered as now known to geographers. The names which he gives to rivers or mountains are placed in brackets after those now in use. As a rule his names are his rendering of Indian names and of course depend chiefly on the sound of the word. For the most part they accord with those which appear on other maps of the seventeenth century: for even where the maps do not copy one another the efforts of different authorities in transliteration of the sound are not often widely divergent. Some of these attempts soon settled down into an accepted use. It is easy to see how the river which came eventually to be written "Oyapok" was to the first English "Wyapoco" or "Wiapoc[o]," the "i" clearly having the English or "y" sound.

To facilitate comparison with the accepted geography of the seventeenth century a map by P. du Val has been reproduced for this volume. It has certain details drawn from Harcourt.

Where any particular explorer, deserting the original name, gave some fancy name, such as Point Perilous in Harcourt's narrative¹, his attempt was as a rule short-lived, at any rate in the West Indies and Guiana².

Harcourt's names and traces, however, survive on the manuscript map which has been reproduced as map A in the present volume. It is obviously a map prepared to illustrate Harcourt's own voyage, and it is over the Dutchman says that the man of whom he speaks went past sixty-eight falls. Howes (Stow, p. 1022) records of Roe that he passed thirty-two. It is not a matter which can be decided without further light, but the presumption seems in favour of this being a reference to Harcourt.

¹ Text, p. III.

² In North America, curiously enough, these fancy names often survived—Newfoundland is full of instances.

unfortunate that there is no definite statement explaining its history. As it stands it raises some very interesting queries.

This map came into the possession of the British Museum in 1892 by purchase (with other documents) from Müller and Co. of Amsterdam: it is briefly described in the printed volume of acquisitions for 1888-93 but without special identification. It first attracted notice in 1899 when the Baron Rio Branco used it in his case against France in respect of the boundary between Brazil and French Guiana, submitted to the arbitration of the Swiss Government. The Baron reproduced it in the Atlas supporting the Brazilian Case, with a note explaining that it was drawn for Robert Harcourt and on his information¹. The work is described on its face as made by Gabriel Tatton and the date to any ordinary inspection is 1668. It is so reproduced in the Brazilian Atlas referred to, but in the list of the maps of the Atlas it is dated as 1608 without explanation. The conjectural date of [1608] was as a matter of fact given by the late Mr Coote—then map curator at the British Museum²—on the ground that this was Tatton's period and that it was a possible reading of the actual digits on the map. But the date 1608 is an almost impossible date. The map records the names specially mentioned in Harcourt's narrative, and indicates the places where he and his brother took possession in the King's name. The voyage was not begun till the very

¹ The note suggests that there is ms. material in the British Museum to support the map. But the late Mr Wood of the ms. Dept., who was good enough to look into the matter specially, was satisfied that there is nothing in his Department. The Baron Rio Branco's note is based upon a shrewd identification of the map by someone who knew Harcourt's *Relation*—probably the late Mr Coote.

² At that time Mr Coote had been for some time working with me on the maps of Guiana in connexion with the Venezuelan Boundary Case, and he brought up this map amongst others which he annotated for us—see *Ven. App.* vol. vii, p. 340. For the British Case it had no special importance and I did not give it particular attention, as I have now done. C. A. H.

end of 1608 and the information could not have been available till Harcourt's return at the end of 1609—some of it not for another year or more. It is inconceivable that Tatton should have dated his map back to the very commencement of the voyage, and nothing was to be gained by such a proceeding. The whole map, moreover, bears the character of careful work conscientiously done to accord with the narrative and authenticated at the moment when it was completed. Yet the date and place of publication are curiously mixed up in the legend: indeed it is clear on careful inspection that the word "London" has been added later and in the place intended for the year; and that the date has been at different times wholly or partially erased, possibly by some cartographer who was trying to adapt it to his own conjectures¹.

The Tatton map has little topographical value at the present day, but it is obviously a historical document which is practically part of the *Relation* and it helps to identify the coast as it appeared to Harcourt. Inland, even on the courses of the rivers, there is nothing which materially explains the wording of his narrative².

All geographical points of special interest are dealt with in footnotes to the text. No general summary of these is of advantage.

It would be interesting, though not here material, to compare the different enumeration of the rivers on the Guiana seaboard by early travellers, and the different forms in which their names appeared. With Harcourt in 1613, as enumerated in his schedule³ and presented on the Tatton map, compare Cabeliau⁴, who fifteen years earlier gives quite a full list from Wiapoco to Worinoque (an unusual and interesting form): also ten years later

¹ The faking and manipulation of the dates of maps is a well-known difficulty in the study of cartography. The date 1628 would fairly fit the 2nd edition of the *Relation*, but it is not easy to get it out of the third digit.

² See also special note on this map on p. 45.

³ See p. 132 *infra*.

⁴ *Ven. App.* 1, p. 18.

the Journal of the Pères des Familles¹, then the nine rivers alleged in affidavits² to be settled by the Dutch and others some thirty years later. The variations of form are instructive, especially from a linguistic point of view, e.g. when "C" and "S" are interchanged as in Coupenama for Supanama.

It is worth while in closing this section to point to the inset in map C annexed to this edition, which shews what a small area of Guiana Harcourt actually touched: it was almost entirely in that part of Guiana which lies towards the Amazon and is now incorporated in Brazil. Part of the scene of his attempt lies within what is now the French colony of Cayenne.

§ ii. ETHNOLOGY

Not the least interesting feature of Harcourt's narrative is the very precise account which he professes to give of the location and organisation of Indian nations.

On his title page he describes the country as "containing seven provinces and other signories," and in his text these provinces are enumerated somewhat discursively as follows:—

(1) Between Arrawary and Cassipurogh (less than 200 miles of coast) the province of Arricary with seignories Arrawary, Maicary, Cooshebery: pp. 79, 80 *infra*.

(2) From Cassipurogh to Arracow (some 100 miles of coast) the province of Arracoory: p. 82.

(3) Apparently adjoining, within the same limits, the province of Morownia: p. 82.

(4) Inland and south of Morownia the province of Norrak: p. 83.

(5) Between Wiapoco and Apurwaca the province of Wiapocoory with seignories Wiapoco and Wianary: p. 84.

(6) The province of Caiane, evidently on the river of that name: p. 85.

¹ *Ven. App.* 1, p. 58: reproduced in extract only from Brit. Mus. Sloane ms. 179 B.

² *Ibid.* p. 112 *ad fin.*

Then comes a long break in the enumeration: it is at first difficult to pick up the author's intention, but apparently he counts as the seventh

(7) Up the Marrawini river the Province of Moreshegoro: p. 119.

Now obviously within a total area which we know to be about 100,000 square miles there is hardly room for seven separate units which could justify such a grandiose title as provinces. Nor is there the slightest probability that the Indians themselves suggested such an appellation. The conception of provinces is part of the exaggerated notions of the period. The Spaniards seem to have begun it; they had some reason for the idea in their first conquests in the New World, and afterwards they were for ever looking for, and talking about, the great provinces which they were intending to acquire. The English adventurers were well up in Spanish efforts and doubtless caught at this idea, and it was natural that in pushing their schemes they should magnify the importance of the territory which they hoped to occupy.

The best writers on the Indians of Guiana¹ give not a hint of territorial organisation. The Indian is doubtless attached to a particular piece of the country and is nomad within certain limits which suit his particular tribe, but the link which holds the tribe is personal and not territorial: they recognise chiefs and sub-chiefs, and the overlordship of certain paramount chieftains². To such a state of facts Harcourt seems to have applied his preconceived idea of provinces and built up the scheme of government indicated in it.

Of the Provinces enumerated Morownia and Norrak definitely take their names from Indian tribes. Morownia

¹ See Rich. Schomburgk's *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*; Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*; im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*; Roth's various studies of the Indians, e.g. *Timehri*, ser. II, vol. I, p. 62.

² A particularly interesting case is given by Sir R. Schomburgk in a note to Raleigh's *Discoverie*, Hak. Soc. vol. III, p. 7.

represents the Maurawas of Leigh¹; Norrak the "Charibs with longe eares called Nooraco,"² the Nourakes or Narraks of De Laet³ and elsewhere: they are the N'ouragues of French Guiana to-day⁴. But detailed examination of other Provinces would lead us too far for the present introduction.

It is, however, desirable as far as possible to determine with what actually known tribes of Indians Harcourt's party came into contact. Besides the Caribs, who are well defined and generally distributed, there are four main tribes from time to time named in the book—the Yaios, the Arwaccas, the Sappaos and Paragotos⁵. The partial identification of these is not very difficult. But when the author refers to the Morowinnes and Wia-pacoories, and again enumerates the unfamiliar names of thirteen tribes of a fabulous character, we have to face a more abstruse problem in ethnology⁶.

Now in the same district in connexion with Leigh's settlement a few years earlier, we find the chief tribes enumerated as Yayes, Arwalkis and Sappayes⁷. Earlier still Cabeliau⁸ has "Geribusende Jau"—evidently Caribs and Yaios—and again "Hebaioende Arwaccus," namely Sappaos⁹ and Arawaks. And in Major Scott's formal description of Guiana¹⁰ we have Shahones, Sepoyes and

¹ Purchas, iv, pp. 1225 *sqq.*

² Appendix II, p. 184 *infra*.

³ Cf. *Nieuwe Wereldt* (1630), p. 464 with *Nouveau Monde* (1640), p. 577.

⁴ See Coudreau's book and Guffroy's map of Cayenne (1901).

In *Ven. App.* I, p. 40 B, for Nor Wacas in a Spanish text of 1615 the translators boldly but erroneously suggested Arwacas as a possible rendering. Yet these Indians may be of Arawak stock. Cf. Brett, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁵ See text, pp. 75, 84, 86, 120, and the schedule appended on p. 132.

⁶ It is quite clear that some of the unusual names are river names; possibly these are given by tribes who are only familiar with the location of their distant neighbours. Cf. p. 23 *infra*.

⁷ See Purchas, iv, p. 1263.

⁸ *Ven. App.* I, p. 18 *ad fin.*

⁹ Hebaio is at first sight puzzling, but a cue is given by the appearance of Shebail on Sanson's map of 1656. Where the geographer got the form is not recorded: but the link is complete.

¹⁰ *Ven. App.* I, p. 168. See also Mr Harlow's volume (*op. cit.*), p. 133.

Occowyes in an early paragraph, and lower down the "Paricoates, the great masters of poyson in America": later again in the treatise "the Occowyes, Shawhouns and Semicorals," that live in the uplands of Guiana. We have then a sufficient consensus of opinion that in that part of the country and at that period the chief races besides the Caribs were Yaïos, Arawaks, Sappaïos and Pariacots. Where are these now? On referring to modern works¹ which deal particularly with the part of Guiana lying around the Oyapok and Cayenne rivers, where Harcourt fixed his headquarters, we find a new and unfamiliar set of names. Sir Everard im Thurn has recently² suggested that the Yaïos are the Waraus (Guarani): phonetically it is quite possible. But the Sappaïos raise the question whether they are known to us under a different—or apparently different—name or have actually disappeared.

In this introduction there is no place for exhaustive treatment of the difficult question of identification, but a few cautions as to the traps to be avoided will not be out of place. In the first place variations and errors in the presentation of certain names arise continually from the different ways in which persons hear and endeavour to reproduce certain sounds. There are certain letters and sounds in the Indian languages which seem to be one thing one day and another thing another day, even to the same person: how much more the variation as between different hearers³. Again there are the errors arising from the different attempts to record a sound in writing, and errors of actual copying and transcription. To arrive at any final judgment, without special and exhaustive study of many data both British and foreign⁴, is

¹ E.g. Coudreau, *Chez nos Indiens*. Paris, 1893.

² In a very interesting letter to the editor respecting this chapter.

³ Anyone who would wish to pursue the question of Indian names and their spelling will find interesting papers by the Rev. Cary Elwes, S.J., in *Timehri*, ser. II, vol. IV, p. 87, and the Rev. W. G. White, *ibid.* ser. II, vol. V, p. 99.

⁴ As instances of long categories of tribal names one may cite the

practically impossible. Mr de Villiers'¹ tentative linking of the Jaïos with the Mañaos and the Shahones with the Wapisianas is most ingenious but not convincing. And Dr Edmundson's² suggestion for the "Semicorals" is hardly satisfactory; it overlooks the fact that Scott may have intended an entirely different pronunciation for the word from those which we naturally give in English. Yet one more caution is needed, especially to an English writer. The closest studies of Guiana Indians have been made in respect of the tribes living in and near what is now British Guiana: one almost instinctively turns to Brett, im Thurn and Roth for final identification of a tribe. But it must be remembered that many tribes have a limited range and some may actually have disappeared altogether. The failure to find present-day representatives of Harcourt's Indians is in no sense conclusive. Pending exhaustive study we must be content with the fact that we know a good deal about the Caribs and Pariacots, that the Arawaks are easily traced to the present day, and that Harcourt's description of Indian manners and characteristics is in accord with those of the Schomburgks and more modern observers.

It seems fairly well established that the names of certain tribes ran with the rivers on which they lived: whether taken from the river or the reverse is not always certain. Harcourt's Arracoories and Wiapacoories seem to be instances in point.

The most likely explanation of the thirteen unfamiliar names already mentioned is that of the numerous families into which each tribe is divided. Both Brett and im Thurn³ shew how numerous and varied are the family

report of Gama Lobo de Almada (*Braz. App.* i, 192 *sqq.*) or Markham's *List of Tribes in the Valley of the Amazons* (Hak. Soc. ser. i, vol. xxiv).

¹ *Storm van 's Gravesande*, Hak. Soc. ser. ii, vol. xxvi, pp. 176 n. for the Shahones, and 183-4 n. and 189 for the Jaïos (Yaios).

² First made in 'arbitration' studies; see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix, p. 5.

³ *Among the Indians of Guiana*, ch. vi, p. 156.

names, often taken from some tree or plant or idiosyncrasy of the individual. And beside this nomenclature it is necessary to remember that in all the groups there is a double name—that given by the tribe to themselves (very often, as with the Caribs, meaning “the people”¹), and the name given by others. In his chapter on this subject im Thurn enumerates thirty-one distinct names, and then by elimination reduces them to fifteen really different appellations.

One special point is worth a word before leaving the Indians—their ready friendship for the English. There is evidence of this from Dutch sources several years before². Harcourt, however, records that Indians on the Wiapoco cherished the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh³, though he had never been anywhere near their part of Guiana. It is of course just possible that Harcourt suggested the idea to them and they absorbed it and made much of something which they thought a useful lever in negotiation: but it may be that from the Orinoco⁴ the fame of the great courtier had travelled to the Amazon just as it undoubtedly remained in Trinidad. If so, that is a great tribute to the personality of a man who was perhaps at his best when he was on an adventurous quest⁵. It is, however, generally admitted in documents of this period that the Indians hailed as friends all who were enemies of Spain⁶.

In this connexion it is remarkable how these wild, shy tribes were induced to come over to Europe not only by the English, but by others. Harcourt alone mentions men brought by Gilbert, Raleigh and probably

¹ Carinja (im Thurn, *loc. cit.*). Similarly the Eskimo call themselves Inuit.

² See Cabeliau's Journal 1598, *Ven. App.* 1, p. 18 *ad fin.*

³ See text, p. 74. Cf. Purchas, vi, 14 (vol. iv, p. 1264).

⁴ Especially as the Spaniards note as on the Orinoco the same tribes Aruacas, Yaïos, etc. *Ven. App.* 1, p. 9 f.

⁵ The same reputation is recorded much later and probably quite independently by Scott, *Ven. App.* 1, p. 169 f.

⁶ See for instance *Ven. App.* 1, p. 21 c.

Leigh. It was the fashion of that day to introduce to London the strange nations of the East and West, but the acquiescence of the Indians is a different affair¹. It accords with their complete faithfulness as described in the narrative².

Of Harcourt's references³ to apparently mythical tribes it is unnecessary to say much. He shews care and restraint in recording what he has heard. Indeed, comparing his account of the tribes "beyond Moreshago" with a passage near the end of Richard Schomburgk's book⁴ one can hazard the conjecture that Harcourt had actually been told of tribes in the far interior which the Schomburgks met in their journeys. The name Craweanna is not so far from Orokoyanna nor Quikeanna from Tschikiana, nor again Mawreanno from Carawayanna. The rumour that these tribes had bows and arrows four times as big as those of others is suggestive of the fact that the bows of the Pianoghottos were of unusual length. It is with caution also that in his second edition⁵, bringing in what he had heard from North, he refers to the possible existence of a nation of female warriors called Amazons.

But though the Amazons are fabulous there is a basis of fact behind the Caribs with big ears.

§ iii. NATURAL HISTORY

Not only regarding botany and zoology but in respect of the agricultural and commercial value of the products of Guiana, Harcourt's treatise is more complete and businesslike than other accounts of the same period⁶.

¹ Sir Robert Schomburgk in 1839 brought three Indians back to England, and after their return they were delighted to meet him in his later travels (Rich. Schomb. vol. I, p. 732).

² See text, pp. 113, 130.

³ See text, pp. 109 and 120.

⁴ Rich. Schomb. vol. II, p. 383, sec. 951-4.

⁵ See App. I, p. 144 *infra*.

⁶ Most of the early writers have something on the subject. Wilson (Purchas, vol. IV, Lib. VI, c. 14) has quite a good account of the birds, animals and plants.

He was an eager student of what had been written before his time, but his narrative bears the impress of personal enquiry and observation. He avoids committing himself to any fabulous stories and shews considerable practical wisdom in his comments upon unfamiliar phenomena. He himself can hardly, in a period of less than four months which he spent in Guiana on this voyage, have gathered the whole material to which he refers in his treatise: he must have received reports from his brother and cousin and have talked with his brother, after the latter's return from Guiana, before writing this treatise. He did not himself go a second time to his little colony before he published his work: if he had, he would certainly have said so.

The test of the accuracy of Harcourt's observations on matters of natural history is comparison with more modern observers, as for instance Richard Schomburgk. Now and again it is difficult to identify what he is describing, but for the most part he is confirmed by later experience, as will be seen by the notes which have been freely used at the foot of the text.

In dealing with the products of plants and trees the lore gleaned from the Indians is checked by reference to the best authorities he happens to know or can find at home. If there is an effort to trace new supplies of herbs and gums, which had already become familiar in England through voyages to the Levant and the East, the ambition is pardonable¹. The idea would appeal to the adventurer and sometimes it led to a new source of supply or to a useful equivalent. Incidentally we are enabled to realise what an amount of thought was in those days expended on the new pharmacopeia, and are brought into touch with a class of investigators, now forgotten, or nearly so, such as Walter Cary².

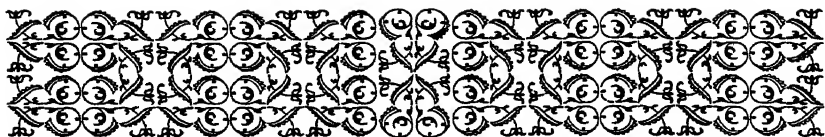
Animals to Harcourt were interesting, not so much as new and strange beasts, as because of possible utility

¹ The Dutch had the same idea. Cf. *Ven. App.* 1, p. 22.

² See text, p. 101.

as a source of food supply. It is consistent with this idea that he makes no reference to the showy birds which strike most travellers, or to reptiles, not even snakes. It is impossible that his party suffered no inconvenience from some of the plagues of the tropics: it cannot be that amongst so many discomforts the centipede and the chigoe did not greatly count: nor is it likely that reference is suppressed merely because it might give a bad impression. The natural explanation is that the writer is so preoccupied with the practical problems of settlement that he overlooks minor annoyances and vexations.

For the commercial possibilities of the country Harcourt has a special eye, and in the last paragraph of his treatise sums them up in a few sentences which have been justified by results. A special future is prophesied for cotton, woods, sugar and mines, besides minor products. Cotton did become a leading export before 1800: and so far as what is now British Guiana is concerned, the greenheart timber, Demerara sugar, and the gold mines of the Potaro and other rivers, have abundantly justified the hopes of 300 years ago. We need not confine Harcourt's predictions to the area which he actually occupied. He was expecting a grant of the country up to the Essequibo river, and this covers Demerara with which we may to this extent identify Harcourt's ideas.



CHAPTER III

Harcourt's Scheme of Colonisation

THAT side of the treatise which indicates Harcourt's views on colonisation deserves a short chapter to itself. Harcourt writes primarily as a coloniser and not, with all deference to a recent commentator¹, as a company promoter. In his preface, and at intervals throughout the *Relation*, whenever he has to sum up his views, this object is brought to the front. The text quoted on the title page breathes that spirit. The succinct statement of view which he addresses to the Prince of Wales at the close of the narrative² is a deliberate affirmation of his attitude. The "Articles" which he appends for general information put it into practical shape.

Analysis of these "articles" shews that with intention to preserve the rights of the proprietors they combine the desire to give to every settler the chance of making a home and a competence. The leading features of the scheme may be summarised as follows:

(a) Provision of land grants to all adventurers—a proper register to be kept.

(b) Profits for the first three years to be devoted to "the advancement of the Plantation."

¹ Mr Harlow (*W. I. and Guiana*, 1623-67, Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. LVI, p. lxxiii) seems to have misread the *Relation*. Harcourt lays no stress whatever on gold-mining: on the contrary he indicates clearly that he regards it as a very secondary matter (p. 107 *infra*); he upbraids those of his party who made trouble over the difficulty of finding the precious metals, although with practical diplomacy he utilises, to satisfy them, any information he obtains. Mr Harlow in summarising Harcourt's treatise, apparently through error in his notes, gets certain passages out of order and so gives a wrong idea of the whole.

² See text, pp. 128 *sqq.*

(c) At the end of the three years all adventurers to take a proportion of profits according to their shares—working up to a “common continued commerce.”

(d) A Treasurer-general to reside in London as the centre of a system for distributing profits throughout England. A proper register of claimants to be kept in each parish.

(e) Provisions for securing equitable apportionment of advantages according to the merit of the adventurers and for regulating the devolution of shares upon descendants.

(f) Provision for encouraging “Particular Plantation and adventure,” *i.e.* for giving facilities to those who are prepared to take over large blocks of the area granted and erect as it were a separate settlement within the main settlement.

For the general defence of all the plantations the “Undertakers of the Generall Plantation” are to be liable, the articles closing with the pious hope that their strength will (with God’s assistance) “be sufficient to resist and repell the malice of our greatest enemies.”

How Harcourt professed to attain all these ends—indeed what he really had in mind—is not altogether clear. How was it to be arranged that the whole benefit during the first three years would be devoted to the advancement of the plantation? And what was the conception of a common continued commerce? And were the relations of the particular settlements to the general settlement at all worked out even in theory?

No similar scheme appears to be extant in English records. Mr Harlow¹ treats it as proved that colonial adventurers were accustomed to encourage immigration by “prospectuses” of this character, and cites as typical “certaine overtures made by ye Lord Willoughby of Parham unto all such as shall incline to plant in ye Colonye of Zaranam on ye continent of Guiana”—a document which is certainly very interesting. It is not

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 174.

improbable that proposals for passages and grants of land like this of Lord Willoughby's were usually made, and that search might reveal several¹. But such a document is very far short of the detail and care embodied in Harcourt's articles, and in any case much later in date. So that the "articles" in question still have a special merit and interest.

It is, however, worth while to compare a detailed project of settlement contained in the "Liberties and Exemptions"² granted by the Dutch West India Company to private individuals desiring to plant colonies "on the Wild Coast of Brazil or the Islands lying there and thereabout." This is analogous to Harcourt's "articles": it is issued by a body under charter from the sovereign, just as Harcourt's scheme derives its authority from the Royal Grant. In providing for the shipment of colonisers and their goods it begins with provisions which Harcourt seems to take for granted: in its conception of general regulations it is less complete than the "articles": in the practical provision for settlement, trade and commerce it is much more definite.

How far Harcourt had studied or discussed with others the plans which may about that time have been formulated for the New England Colonies or for settlement under the East India Company, it would require search to determine. He could hardly have had any document on which to base his scheme, for he stands at the beginning of schemes for actual colonisation³. The idea of settlement as opposed to trade was embodied in one or two petitions before the close of the sixteenth century—but the early projects for settlement,

¹ Harcourt himself speaks of precedents. Cf. *Ven. App.* i, pp. 65–9 and 142–4—the provisions of the Dutch arrangements.

² *Ven. App.* i, p. 65.

³ When the *Relation* was published, effective settlement in New England had scarcely begun, and there was certainly no sort of settlement as yet under the East India Company.

Mr Williamson (*op. cit.* p. 48) has some suggestive observations on Harcourt's scheme.

e.g. in New England, were practically contemporaneous with Leigh and Harcourt, and the "articles" may well embody an original idea.

As the *Relation* appeared in part both in French and Dutch¹ it is just possible that the appended "articles" inspired certain ideas in the Dutch project of settlement already referred to as issued in 1628, and even others not recorded; but they are not traceable in the conditions granted to colonists in the years round 1650 and onwards. It would appear that the scheme never fructified or was tried in actual practice. We do not even know whether Harcourt applied it in the settlement which he made in Wiapoco in 1627. In any case the short life of that colony and North's settlement connected with it and their complete disappearance from the history of enterprise leave Harcourt's "articles" as a mere record with an interest which is only academic.

It is difficult to determine whether the religious side of the enterprise is genuine or a concession to a prevailing cant. How are we nowadays to judge the following extract² from the "articles"?

Divine Preachers that will imitate the glorious examples of the Apostles (who ceased not to travell amongst all sorts of Heathen and savage people for the plantation of the holy Gospel) are worthily numbered amongst the persons of place and qualitie, and shall have such worthy shares, for the adventure of their persons, in this service of the blessed Trinitie, as shall give them good content.

In all probability it was genuine. The Elizabethan age strangely mixed up the glory of God and the claims of conquest. Each nation in turn assumed itself to be the chosen instrument of Divine purpose and sought to impress this on others by means absolutely antagonistic to the Divine law. Down at the bottom there was a sincere desire to make the new settlements a land of

¹ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Harcourt, Robert. Cf. p. 37, *infra*.

² See text, p. 139.


Christian¹ nobility, and this was brought out in a marked degree by the Pilgrim Fathers, who were but a little while later than the date of Harcourt's treatise. Certainly in all the settlements which finally made good their place on the map the religious needs of the settlers were not disregarded. Perhaps the most striking early case is that of the Dutch colony in Essequibo, where the "predikant" is a person little inferior to the Commandeur or Governor².

And from that Dutch colony another lesson may be drawn—the extreme difficulty of reconciling the claims of a dominant company with the interests of individual colonists. The worries of that fine old Governor, Storm van 's Gravesande, suggest what would probably have been the story of the colony on the Oyapok if it had ever remained to have its history written—indeed what very likely was a part of its story³ in the years from 1627 to 1631 when it would appear to have struggled on for a time before its final disappearance.

¹ Leigh in his letters to his brother is full of religious fervour—see Purchas, vol. iv, p. 1253.

² See the Diary of Fort Kijkoveral, 1699-1702 (*Ven. C. C. App.* p. 47), also the despatches of Storm van 's Gravesande (*Hak. Soc. ser.* II, vol. xxvi, *e.g.* pp. 212, 213).

³ Light is thrown on this by the ms. already referred to on p. 13 as reproduced by Mr Harlow (*op. cit.* p. 148).



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

ROBERT HARCOURT, the author of this *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, was born in 1574, the eldest son of Sir Walter Harcourt of Ellenhall, Staffordshire, and Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. It is hardly necessary to say that he belonged to the family which has given many distinguished men to the service of the State¹. He went to Oxford as a gentleman-commoner of St Alban's Hall² at the beginning of 1589 when he was 15 and remained there about three years³. What he did when he left and how he employed himself for the next fifteen years, the published Harcourt papers do not tell us. Evidently he was caught by the prevailing enthusiasm for voyages to the New World, and he seems to have read most of the extant literature on the subject. In a brief and inaccurate notice of him Anthony à Wood⁴ states that he "had a geny⁵ inclining him to see and search out hidden regions." Harcourt himself does not speak as if he had come into contact with Raleigh, whose first voyage to the Orinoco took place three years after he had left Oxford. We apparently⁶ have no information about him till about 1607 he began to agitate for a patent or grant permitting him to take a voyage to Guiana on his own account. The history of this venture and its outcome, with the record of his two voyages to Guiana first in 1608-9 and afterwards in 1627, has been given in detail in chap. 1 of the Introduction. Whether he ever returned to England, or

¹ The late Viscount Harcourt naturally took special interest in his ancestor and knew his treatise. See Introduction, p. 14 *ad med.* and note.

² St Alban's Hall was united with Merton College in 1882.

³ *Harcourt Papers*, vol. 1, p. 81 (published privately).

⁴ *Ath. Ox.* 3rd ed. 1815, vol. 11, p. 143. Mr Darnell Davis cites it in *Timehri*, ser. 11, vol. 1, p. 285. Mr Harlow (*op. cit.* p. lxxi) quotes, but not accurately, the same passage.

⁵ *Sic*: the *Harcourt Papers* cite the passage with "genius."

⁶ There may of course be unpublished family papers still hidden somewhere.

made any effort to conserve the remnant of his shattered resources we do not know. He is recorded as having "dissipated a large fortune" and "being reduced to sell that ancient possession," Ellenhall, which he had inherited from his father. He died on 20 May 1631, aged 57¹, possibly in Guiana²; yet there is a definite statement in the family papers³ that he is buried at Stanton Harcourt: and it is improbable that his body would have been embalmed and brought home.

Harcourt was twice married and by his second wife left amongst others a son who became Sir Simon, and is designated in his biography a "soldier of fortune⁴."

The portrait of Harcourt which, thanks to the courtesy of the Viscountess Harcourt, is reproduced as frontispiece to this edition, hangs in the drawing-room at Nuneham Park, near Oxford⁵.

There is very little material for judging what manner of man Harcourt was, but one question naturally rises in the mind as we read such passages as that with which he begins his preface: was he sincere? was he really a religious-minded man? or is all this a sort of common form? It would possibly help us to decide if we had any letters of his. As things stand, there are just certain expressions in the narrative itself, which have a thoroughly genuine ring⁶. In the absence of further material nothing more can be done than to give the benefit of any doubt.

His preface shews him to be not only something of

¹ *Harcourt Papers*, vol. 1, p. 442. See also *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Harcourt, Robert.

² See Mr Williamson (*op. cit.* pp. 123-4): it must be admitted that the evidence which he produces must not too lightly be set aside.

³ *Harcourt Papers*, vol. 1, p. 108.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Harcourt, Sir Simon.

⁵ Inaccurately described as of "Sir" Robert Harcourt: the same technical error is in the family papers but not in the pedigree (p. 247). Not unfrequently in those days the eldest son of a knightly family was so described without warrant (*auctore* Norroy King-at-Arms).

⁶ Compare remarks on p. 31 *supra*.

a scholar, but also thoughtful and of wide sympathy. On the whole from his little treatise we may conclude that his rôle was that of a well-informed country gentleman, with an interest in adventure and new scenes and a faculty for observing and noting his experiences.

He would not claim to be a literary man. The style of the *Relation* is simple and direct: in some passages he stumbles, but not much more than was common in that age: he has given us on the whole a good example of the ordinary writing, thought and expression of the Elizabethan times.



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE FIRST edition of Harcourt's *Relation of a voyage to Guiana* was published as a small quarto pamphlet in 1613. It will be seen on perusal that apart from the Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Prince of Wales the *Relation* was itself addressed to the Prince, though the author seems to have begun an ordinary narrative, and only when he comes to the description of the country addressed himself directly to the Prince¹. The work was brought out as a public appeal in support of his project for the colonisation of Guiana, "the Patent for the Plantation of which Country" as the title-page recites, "his Majestie hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt under the great Seale." Presumably the little book appeared not earlier than the end of August, when the Patent was granted².

The text which is inscribed on the title-page from Numbers xiv, verses 7 and 8, is not taken from the then recent Authorised Version of the Bible, nor has it been easy to ascertain from what version it did come. There are many in the British Museum which all vary. The nearest text to that on the title-page is in a Bible of 1602, "Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie." This version is exactly the same except that there is no "wil" before the three last words, "give it us." Possibly the word slipped in as result of careless transcription.

Apparently Brett had read his Harcourt for in his preface³ he uses the words of the text to describe British Guiana.

The design which appears on the title-page of the

¹ See p. 79 *infra ad med.* (in the orig. p. 13 *ad fin.*). Cf. footnote on the passage.

² See p. 10 *supra*.

³ *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*. Rev. W. H. Brett. London, 1868.

first edition is a printer's device of interest mainly from the bibliographer's point of view¹.

The book received an immediate notice in Stow's *Annales* under the year 1614 (p. 1019):

This pleasant frertile (*sic*) and oppulent countrey is very lively described by Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt Esquire in a booke of his voyage to Guyana published the last yeare one thousand sixe hundred and thirteene.

The first edition is of course the one which is reproduced by Purchas², who omits the later details of the narrative, as well as the appended summary³—all except one paragraph—and also the Articles.

From the pages of Purchas, Harcourt's work passed to the Continent. A liberal paraphrase appeared in Merian's continuation of his father-in-law De Bry's work⁴, and a syncopated notice in the German version of the same work. The Dutch version, in a collection of voyages published by Pieter van der Aa⁵, is a translation of Purchas's transcript. De Laet uses Harcourt freely.

¹ Mr Taylor of the British Museum turned it up at once. It is illustrated in McKerrow's *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 1485–1640 (printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1913), and is described as "Device with a Griffin's head erased in the centre and the arms of the Stationers' Company and those of John Beall in the upper corner": the latter is in the right corner.

² *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, bk vi, ch. xvi, vol. iv, p. 1267 (1625). Similarly reproduced in MacLehose's edition, vol. xvi, p. 358 (1906). Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* (4th ed. p. 902 *ad fin.* etc.) makes a brief précis of Harcourt's book.

³ See p. 133 *infra*.

⁴ *Historiae Americanae* pars 13. 1, sec. 5 (1634) written in Latin. The German version (at p. 492 of which the notice occurs) is entitled *Historia Antipodum oder Neue Welt*: and though dated 1631, seems later than the Latin work. The disentangling of these collections and editions would, however, require a monograph of its own. Reference should be made to a *Mémoire sur la Collection des Grands et Petits Voyages*, par A. G. Camus (1802).

⁵ *Naukeurige Verzameling der gedenkwaardigste Reyzen na Oost en West Indien*. Leyden, P. van der Aa, 1707.

The original print is now rare¹: the copy in the British Museum, from which the present edition is reprinted, is interesting as having a number of MS. alterations which almost suggest corrections by the author himself: there are also some curious misprints, which could not be uncommon in printed books of the period. It is reproduced here in its original form except as to certain typographical blunders and the manuscript corrections just mentioned, which are assumed to be in accordance with the author's intention. The ornamentation also has been omitted.

The second edition of the *Relation* published in 1626 was a reissue for the benefit of the new company promoted by Harcourt and North². It was very much the same in form as the first edition, but has a few material alterations which it is worth while to record, and certain additions which have been reproduced in Appendix I.

On the title-page the legend commences with "The" not "A" Relation; the device is dropped, the printer being now a different man; in the description the words after "Country" down to "behaviors" are omitted, thereby dropping all reference to the Provinces and Seignories; the date 1609 is placed in the middle of the page after the words "performed by Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt Esquire," and immediately after the date an addition as follows:

Now newly reviewed and enlarged by addition
of some necessary notes for the more ample explaining
of some things mentioned in the said Relation

Together with a larger declaration of the famous
River of the Amazonas and the Country
thereabout

Gathered from the moderne experience of
our owne Country-men

The Patent for the Plantation of which Country
His Majestie hath lately granted
to a Corporation

¹ Clearly it was a copy found in the Harley collection which was reprinted casually in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. VI (1810).

² See p. 13 *supra*.

The edition is issued in London and printed by "Edw: Allde dwelling near Christ Church."

There is a new Epistle Dedicatory addressed to "The most high and Mightie Monarch Charles by the Grace of God King of Great Britain France and Ireland." This contains two or three details which are of value in clearing up the history of the grant to Harcourt and its fate.

Then come the original Epistle Dedicatory and Preface as reproduced in the present edition, except that towards the end of the Preface there is a certain variation, particularly in the entire omission of the penultimate paragraph of the original.

In the text of the *Relation* itself, the most material variation is at p. 6 of the original edition, where in his original text the author announces that he had intended one day to make a perfect discovery of the River Amazon. Here he reproduces the story of North's venture in that river in 1621. The matter is of such interest that it would in any case have been desirable to reproduce the whole passage. It will be found with other additions as indicated above in Appendix I.

At the close of the *Relation* proper (p. 131 *infra*) is introduced "A Recapitulation of the Commodities of the Country: Together with an addition of the nature of the Returne to be expected¹," after which comes the table of rivers and Indian tribes as at p. 132 *infra*. There the text ends, the summary and Articles being omitted.

Certain variants of form are found and some minor errors of spelling, miscopying and construction appear to be corrected in the second edition, and yet in some cases obvious typographical errors are left untouched, just as if the original type had been used, whenever possible, without correction. It has not been thought necessary to go more critically into this matter: here and there a special case is noticed at the foot of the page.

¹ See Appendix I, p. 159 *infra*.



NOTE ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAME FORMS

IT is desirable to indicate the principle on which particular forms of names have been adopted in the Introduction. Ordinarily, it is best to adopt accepted modern forms, spelt in accord with recent convention; although geographers have made some queer blunders in applying that convention. But where the main interest of a narrative centres in a period long past, it may be instructive to adhere, in part at least, to the forms which usually occur in contemporary documents. This is particularly the case where modern forms are the outcome of the attempt to represent names in some foreign language and depend on the national pronunciation.

Wherever in the Introduction a citation is being made, even indirectly, from the author the forms he uses are preserved¹. Further, it has in some cases seemed desirable throughout to adhere to the author's form, indicating its identity with the modern name. There are two special examples in the river names.

The form Wiapoco, or Wyapoco, or Wiapogo, or Wyapoc, appears in all contemporary English documents; and the Spanish write Guayapoco². It is easy to identify these forms with the later Oyapok³.

For the river now written Marōñi the form Marrawini, used by Harcourt, is kept in the Introduction, because it represents better to English eyes the pronunciation of the Indian name. An Englishman seeing "Maroni," a foreign word, almost instinctively pronounces it Marōñi, which is quite wrong: it is equally wrong to lengthen the "i" or "y" in the Dutch Marawyny. Du Val has Maraouiny, giving a French attempt at the "w." Apparently De Lisle in 1722 first has Maroni, the natural French method of representing the Indian name. In a marginal note Harcourt has

¹ *E.g.* see Introd. pp. 7, 19.

² See *Ven. App.* i, p. 41.

³ Compare remarks on p. 16 *supra*.

river of Marra¹. Clearly the stress is on the first syllable of the name².

A close attention to philological principles is of extreme importance in identifying old with modern names, remembering always that the intended pronunciation is the test to apply. It is fatal to assume that a certain set of syllables must conform to ordinary English rules. Both rivers and tribal names in Harcourt's narrative furnish us with instances and stimulate ingenuity.

A striking case is Connawini: it takes time to realise that it was to be pronounced Connāwīnī: but as soon as this is realised the identity with Counāni³ is clear. Watts for Ouassa is very interesting. And a few other cases from the list which Harcourt appends to his *Relation*⁴ illustrate various niceties of pronunciation. The Arracow appears on maps as Arracawo. The Apurwacca is the modern Aprovak or French Aperouacque. Caiane (also Caliane) is of course Cayenne. The Meccouria on early maps is Macaria: the Vracco (where the V is really U) is Juraca. The Amanna is found as Mana⁵. The Selinama is the same as Surenamo or Surinam by a well-known variation of the labials. But Coupannamy, or Coupaname, it is curious to find in old manuscripts as Supename; it suggests that the C could only have been pronounced originally as soft. Of names in what is now British Guiana we find many old friends in strange form. Eneecurie is the present Nickerie, Manhica (the "n" probably a miscopying) is Mahaica. Wapary (or Apari of older maps) is Abari. Micowine is Mahaicony. Essequibo and its great branches, Cuyuni and Massaruni are more easily recognised.

¹ See p. 119. "Wini" means water: see Sir Robert Schomburgk (*Braz. App.* III, p. 37 *prop. fin.*).

² Such forms as Marowmny (Map A) are simply miscopied.

³ Counani became notorious as a seat of a bogus settlement about 1890.

⁴ At p. 132 *infra*. The names are taken in the order of the list.

⁵ The loss or addition of initial A in Indian names is not uncommon.

For tribal names the modern form has been given in the chapter dealing with them wherever it is possible to identify them. For the most part it is wisest to employ what may be considered the most natural forms in contemporary documents. Practically, the Caribs, Akawais and Arawaks are the only ones which generally explain themselves, even when they appear under a variant form: "Careebie" or "Arrouac" give no trouble¹. Certainly "Wacceway" looks strange at first and interests one the more as a direct link to the form Waika².

Of tribes less known the variant forms are interesting in themselves quite apart from the aid to identification. The Sappaio³ of Harcourt appear elsewhere as Sapoyas, or Suppayes, and are clearly the same as the Shebail of Sanson's map of 1656. The Pariagots are the Pariacots of the Dutch records⁴ and the Paragoti of Sanson's map.

The Morowinnes⁵ of Harcourt are the inhabitants of his Morownia and the same as the Maurauvas of Leigh⁶. But most interesting of Harcourt's special names are the Norrak Indians, whom we recognise under the forms Nooraco⁷, Narrack⁸, Nourakes and the French N'ouragues of the present day.

It would go beyond the purpose of this note to discuss in greater detail the many philological and ethnological questions which arise.

¹ Arrawagotae on Sanson's map of Guiana, 1656, has simply added the common "ghoto" or "goto" which means a tribe. Compare "Pariagots."

² Richard Schomburgk treats Waika as the more accurate form of Akawai (vol. I, § 530-536).

³ See p. 86 of text.

⁴ Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvi, p. 20.

⁵ See p. 83 of text.

⁶ See Purchas, IV, p. 1251.

⁷ See p. 21 *supra* and App. II, p. 163 *infra*.

⁸ Williamson, *op. cit.* p. 120 n.



NOTE ON MAPS

§ I. THE EARLY MAPS OF GUIANA

IT may be said with some truth that the cartography of Guiana¹ as a separate area began with Sir Walter Raleigh's map of 1595²: it was the first to shew the Orinoco as a great waterway. The data of this map and the information embodied in Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* were in 1599 used with full effect in Jodocus Hondius' map of Guiana, which became the first published detailed map of Guiana. This was copied by De Bry and used to illustrate Part VIII of his work on America, which seems to have been completed about 1599. There are certain partial charts or maps assignable to the next few years, one of which has a special interest for readers of this volume and shall be fully discussed presently, but they do not illustrate any actual development in the cartography of Guiana.

The first map which may be considered as a distinct advance in the attempt to delineate Guiana is that which De Laet published in 1625 in *The New World or description of the West Indies*: it was prepared by Hessel Gerritz, a cartographer of considerable reputation. The general draughtsmanship of the map is decidedly good, the coastline being recorded with the indentations and variations of direction which we now associate with good drafting.

¹ In connexion with the arbitration between the United Kingdom and Venezuela the maps and cartography of Guiana received very careful study. The Commission established by the United States of America when they first took up the Venezuelan case produced certain useful reports and notes on maps which are available in many libraries. More important are some of the memoranda prepared for the British Government. These include papers which will not be open to the public except after a fixed period: such are the contributions of Mr Coote, formerly Curator of Maps at the British Museum. My general supervision of the whole cartographical work of the Cases is naturally the basis of a special knowledge on the subject. C. A. H.

² This, for long unpublished, has been reproduced recently for the Hakluyt Society in *West Indies and Guiana*, 1623-1667, ser. II, vol. LVI.

In the ensuing quarter of a century there were published several maps of Guiana of distinctive character, which, apparently founded on that of De Laet, nevertheless fell back in marked degree from the standard of that map. The first of these was produced in 1630 by William Blaeu: it was uncoloured. It was very quickly pirated by H. Hondius and J. Jansson, the business rivals of Blaeu. For some years the maps of Guiana followed the same model with very little variation except in the introduction of colouring. Such maps appear under the names just mentioned, and also under that of Jan Blaeu, son of William, as late as 1667.

About the middle of the seventeenth century a certain improvement in the delineation of South America and Guiana was introduced by the French cartographers, Nicolas Sanson and his nephew Pierre du Val d'Abbeville¹. Their attention to this area was doubtless due to the interest which the French were at the time taking in attempts to colonise Guiana. Basing their cartography upon the series of Dutch maps which has just been mentioned they introduced a more intelligent and accurate draughtsmanship. Their influence may be traced through the maps of French cartographers for almost a century, down to the later maps of Vaugondy. But meanwhile several maps were published which harked back to earlier and less accurate presentations of the country. Indeed, it would seem that cartographers too often endeavoured to obtain the effect of originality by copying models of obsolete type. After 1700 there is traceable a definite but irregular improvement in cartographical details both by French and English map-makers. Quite personal, however, was the remarkable work of D'Anville, who from 1750 onwards produced a series of maps which both in their outlines and their details anticipate the work of modern cartography.

¹ This affix "d'Abbeville" usually following the names of both men denotes their birthplace. Du Val was his uncle's pupil. Sanson was of Scottish descent (*Grégoire, Dict. Enc. d'Histoire etc.*).

D'Anville may be considered as having been a century before his time, and several of those who succeeded him failed to reach the same standard. This, however, takes us outside any necessary review of the early maps, which has been given merely with a view to the better appreciation of the maps selected to accompany this volume.

§ 2. THE MAPS ACCOMPANYING THIS VOLUME

A. *Guiana. Gabriel Tatton*

This map is really a chart rather than a map, giving an outline of the coast along which Harcourt navigated, with little detail in the interior. Its history and value have already been somewhat fully discussed in the Introduction¹.

Of Tatton himself very little appears to be known, nor is there much of his work extant. He has been the subject of recent inquiry by Mr Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, in connexion with a map of the Pacific Ocean by "G. Tatton" found at Florence²: but little transpired.

There is in existence³ a map or chart of Gabriel Tatton's dated 1602, which gives part of the Guiana coast and marks Wiapogo (*sic*) and other rivers. This map is drawn in a formal squared manner much in the same general style as the map now reproduced, suggesting a somewhat crude but painstaking draughtsmanship, which may have been characteristic of Tatton's work.

The chart by Tatton now reproduced can hardly claim any original merit as a piece of cartography: the coastline appears to follow the earlier Dutch maps: the stretch of coast between Wiapoco and Cayenne is

¹ See pp. 17, 18. The map is in B.M. Addl. ms. 34240 N.

² See G. Caraci, *Tabulae Geographicae Vetustiores*, Florence, MCMXXVI.

³ No title: reproduced in the Atlas accompanying the Brazilian Case in the arbitration with France, 1899.

telescoped and compressed just as in Hondius' map of 1599¹, and so considerable a river as the Aprovak is practically crowded out by this shortening of the coast. Yet this is precisely the point at which one might expect a fresh presentation based on actual explorations. With one or two notable exceptions merely the mouths of the rivers are shewn, as on all the early maps: this is natural, where explorers did little more than coast along the shore.

In fact a careful consideration of this Tatton chart shews that it must have been framed mainly for the specific purpose of illustrating some exploration or settlement. That this exploration was Harcourt's is practically certain. All the special detail of the map corresponds with the narrative of his *Relation*; its own internal evidence is sufficient to support this conclusion. At points which closely correspond with the *Relation*², red representations of a cross or cairn evidently mark special spots. On the Arrawari and to the east of the Wiapoco rivers these are accompanied by the initials C. M. H., C. E. H., and C. E. F., which presumably stand for "Captain Michael Harcourt," "Captain Edward Harvey," and "Captain Edward Fisher" respectively: they illustrate the journeys into the region of the Arrawari and into the country in the interior near the Wiapoco³. Perhaps the most striking confirmation of the connexion between the chart and the *Relation* is the name "Point Perilous" assigned to North Cape: this was the special appellation adopted by Harcourt's party after their voyage round it⁴, and it is apparently never used again. A careful examination of the published maps shews no trace of it. Of other names specially mentioned in the *Relation* the chart has Caripoporrough islands (the Caripoory and Caripapoory of the text⁵) which are not found in any

¹ See p. 43 *supra*.

³ See p. III *infra*.

⁵ See text, p. 81 *infra*.

² See pp. 109, III, 117 *infra*.

⁴ See text, p. 112 *infra*.

other map, Coshebery¹, Gomeribo², Mt Cowob³ at the source of the Watz and Mt Sapparow⁴ on the Marrawini river, with Matawere and Maupanana beyond.

It also has the towns Taparamune (*sic*) and Moreshego, but none of the fresh names mentioned in the document now reproduced in Appendix II⁵.

B. *La Guayane ou Coste Sauvage. P. du Val d'Abbeville*

This map of 1654 is chosen for reproduction for two reasons. It is a comparatively early map in which the delineation of the coastline and the general draughtsmanship assumed a more modern character. Also though cruder in drawing it has more detail than De Laet, and is the first map to introduce matter clearly drawn from Harcourt's account. It has Cooshebery marked and spelt as in the *Relation*; it marks "Norrack province"; and in the interior between the Aprovak (Aperuacque) and Wiapoco rivers Mt Cowob⁶ *ou l'on prend une sorte de Topase*⁷. Again on the left bank of the Marrawini is Mt Sapparow and beyond Maupanama with Matawere towards the watershed: also Tauparamuna: but Moreigo for Moreshego. A few other points in the map are of general interest but not relevant here⁸, though it may be well to notice the curious error of drafting by which at its mouth the Aprovak (Aperuacque) appears as the Peruacque, while the usual name is written on the course of the stream.

A map of Sanson's dated two years later (1656) has many of the same names with interesting variations:

¹ See text, p. 81 *infra*.

² See text, p. 110.

³ See text, p. 80.

⁴ See text, p. 117.

⁵ See p. 172 *infra*.

⁶ The spelling on the map is apparently "Couueb" but that may easily be a draughtsman's error.

⁷ See text, pp. 80-1.

⁸ One of these is the island marked in the lower reaches of the Amazon as being the site of English and Dutch settlements broken up by the Portuguese. This supports Mr Harlow's statement cited in note on p. 13, so far as it goes.

Mt Sapparow is taken to the right bank of the river. Maupanama and Mattawere are placed more as in Tatton's map. Moreshego is so spelt.

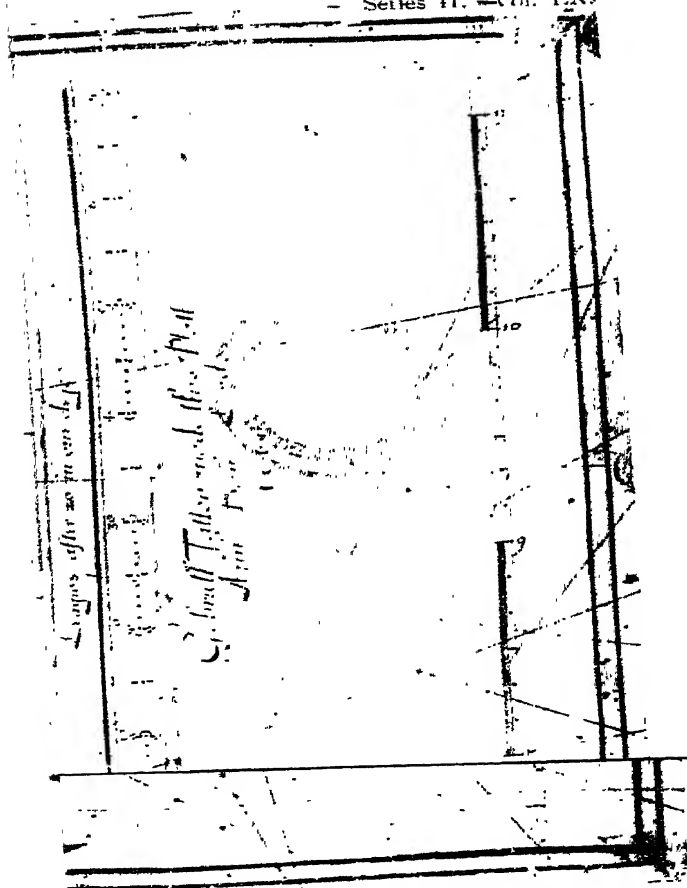
It seems improbable that either of the French geographers had seen the Tatton chart: they probably worked upon a translation of the *Relation* only.

The notes found in Du Val's map of 1654 and Sanson's of 1656, or notes very similar, are found in subsequent editions of the maps, *e.g.* in 1664, 1680 and 1694, and also in other maps which copied them. This is not the occasion for a full analysis of the maps of Guiana which would, of course, have its own interest as a piece of cartographical history.

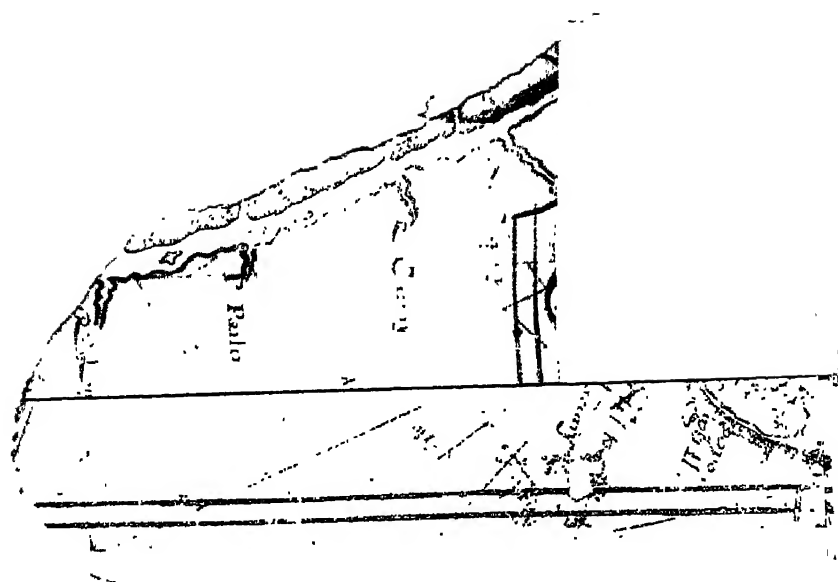
C. Part of Guiana, prepared to illustrate the text.

This map has been specially drawn by Mr Milne of the Royal Geographical Society, to enable the reader to follow the *Relation* in the light of modern geography. A note on its composition will be found as Appendix III. It has been thought most convenient to give it on the smallest scale compatible with clearness: an inset map compares the area covered by Harcourt with that of the "island" of Guiana.

The forms of the names inserted in this map are those recognised by recent geography: the forms used by Harcourt are added in brackets: where there is a doubt a mark of interrogation is prefixed.



Reproduced by Donald Macbeth, Fleet Street, London.



A
RELATION
OF A VOYAGE
TO GVIANA.

DESCRIBING THE CLIMAT,
Scituation, fertilitie, prouisions and commodities
of that Country, containing seuen Prouinces, and
other Signiories within that Territory: Together,
with the manners, customes, behauiors, and
dispositions of the people.

Performed by ROBERT HARCOVRT, *of*
Stanton Harcourt *Esquire.*

The Pattent for the Plantation of which Country,
his Maiestie hath granted to the said ROBERT
HARCOVRT vnder the Great Seale.

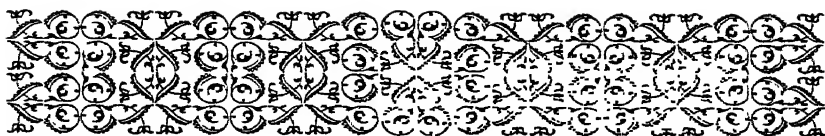
NOMB. 14. 7, 8.

*The Land which we walked thorow to search it, is a very good Land.
If the Lord loue vs, he will bring vs into this land, and wil giue it vs.*



AT LONDON

Printed by IOHN BEALE, for W. WELBY, and
are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church yard at the
signe of the Swan. 1613.



To the high and
Mighty Prince, CHARLES,
Prince of GREAT BRITAIN:

Having had tryall (*most worthy Prince*) of
your most renowned brother Prince Hêrie¹
his many favours towards mee, and princely
furtherance of my humble sute vnto his
Maiestie your royall Father, and our dread Soue-
raigne, for obtayning for mee his gracious Letters
Pattents for the planting and inhabiting of all that
tract of Land, and part of Guiana, betweene the
riuers of Amazonas, & Dessequebe, scituate in
America, vnder the Equinoctiall Line: Whereof I
haue taken possession to his Maiesties vse, and dis-
covered the maritime parts. I was greatly thereby
incouraged to proceed in the enterprise, and had
(vnder his Maiesties fauour) deuoted my selfe vnto
his seruice. But now seeing (by Gods permission) your
excellent Brother his princely Honour, by right of
succeßion is fallen vpon your Highnesse, and verily
hoping, that you will not onely equall, but also exceed
him in vertuous exercises, and aduancing all honorable
actiōs, and worthy enterprises; I haue in like maner
religiously vowed the best fruits and effects of my in-

¹ Prince Henry, eldest son of James I, the favourite of the people and out of sympathy with his father's failings, was a warm patron of adventurous spirits and a friend of the imprisoned Raleigh. He died on 6 November 1612. It was natural that petitioners should turn to the new Prince of Wales.

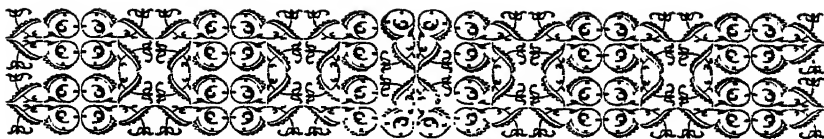
deauors vnto your Highnesse seruice. And forasmuch as that part of the world which wee now call America, was heretofore in the yeere of our Lord 1170. discovered, conquered, and possessed by Madoc, one of the sons of Owen Gwyneth prince of north-Wales¹: I therefore (in all humble reuerence) present the prosecution of this high Action vnto your gracious Patronage, principally belonging of right vnto you, being the honourable, true, and worthy Successor to the Principality of VVales. If my trauell & seruice therein shall perform ought, woorthy of your Princely regard, I shall much glory thereat, and account it my happiest fortune, and greatest honour: And shall heartily pray vnto the King of Kings, to continue in your Highnesse a pious, and inuincible heart; and to giue you a conquering and victorious hand; and the dominion of many rich and mighty Kingdomes in this world, and in the worlde to come, a Crowne of Glorie, in his eternall Kingdome.

Your Highnesse

most humble deuoted seruant,

ROBERT HARCOVRT.

¹ This reference to the legend of a Welsh discovery of America is dragged in as an additional reason for addressing the Prince of Wales. Harcourt would probably have in mind the opening pages of Hakluyt's vol. III of *The Voyages &c. of the English Nation*, dated 1600. An excellent summary of this claim is given in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under the name Madog ab Owain Gwynedd. Apparently it originated with a passage in one Humphrey Llwyd's annals in 1559 to the effect that Madoc left Wales on his father's death in 1170 and after leaving Ireland to the north came to a strange land "which must have been Florida or New Spain." The story for a time made great headway and was the basis of Southey's *Madoc*, but it has long since been exploded.



To the Readers,
ADVENTVRERS, FAVORERS,
and wel-willers¹ to the Plantation
in GVIANA.

I*T is the part of valiant and noble spirites to apply their indeuours to honourable and woorthie atchiuements: but chiefly to frame their actions therein by the rule of vertue, and accomplish the end for which they were created, which is in their vocations to serue and glorifie GOD, and to doe good vnto others: For the better performance of their dueties in that behalfe, let them examine their inclinations and dispositions in the course of their life, and what they finde themselues most inclined vnto, to that let them seriously bend their forces; either to cherish or suppress it; to follow or forjake it, according as it tendeth to vertue or vice; to honour or disgrace.*

As touching the courses of life, inclining to the better part, some men are naturally giuen to bee schollers, either in Diuinity, Philosophy, or other learning; some are more inclined to be Statists²; some to be Souldiers, and traouellers; some desire to bee Citizens, and Merchants; and some like best to leade Countrey life, and follow husbandry; and other-some are wholly inclined to the Mechannicall trades, and handy crafts. In all which professions, as men are naturally addicted more, or lesse, they attaine to perfection, and may thereby accomplish the end for which they were created. But

¹ The form is interesting. Cf. wel-come, wel-fare. See Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, s.v. "well."

² This word was commonly used in the seventeenth century to denote one skilled in state affairs—a politician. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

to undertake any profession contrary to a mans naturall inclination, is a losse of time, a worke that yeldeth no profit, but breedeth many inconueniences, and destroyeth nature: For the meere Scholler will neuer bee good Statist, Souldier, Merchant, nor Mechanicall tradesman, (yet learning is a singular helpe in all these professions) neither will the professed Souldier euer attaine to exquisite perfection in learning, or in the other professions; so likewise of the rest. The naturall inclination of man, may bee somewhat restrained, corrected, and reformed, but is rarely and hardly altered.

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret¹

In these and all other professions whatsoever, men may so proceede in their particular societies, that each severall company in his proper vocation, may bee a help, comfort, and support vnto the rest: and they are firmly bound both by the law of God, and Nature, to exercise and follow their professions for the benefit of others: not coueteously seeking their owne gaine only thereby; but charitably, respecting first the glory of God, and then the honour of their Prince, and profit of their Countrey, which is the end for which they were created.

To the end therefore that our Countreymen of all professions in this Kingdome may bee worthily induced to performe their duties in that kinde not only at home in their owne Countrey, but also abroad in forraigne parts, wheresoeuer any of our Nation shall bee employed, eyther by discovery or conquest, for the reducing of unknowne and barbarous people (void of all knowledge of God, and ciuill gouernement) to Christianity and the subiection and obedience of our Soueraigne², and that such others as want imployment, or competent meanes to follow their professions, and are slipt aside from vertuous exercises, and honourable enterprises, to idle wantonnesse, effeminate disorders, and other extrauagant courses of life, may bee recalled, reformed, and encouraged (by better endeouours) to performe their duties to God, their Prince, and their Countrey. I thought it conuenient to pro-

¹ Horace, *Ep.* 1, 10, 24. The accepted reading is "tamen usque recurret," the particle going with the second limb of the sentence.

² See introduction, p. 31.

pound vnto them a worthy and memorable enterprife: (for the prosecution and accomplishing whereof, it hath graciouſly pleaſed his Maieſty to grant mee priuiledge by Pattennt) namely, the diſcouery and plantation of a part of the great, rich, & mighty Empire¹ of Guiana: wherein they ſhall finde variety of imployments to ſpend their times worthily in their ſeuerall vocations; plentifull meanes to ſupply all wants and neceſſities; and many worthy aduentures to obtaine immortall renowne and perpetuall fame.

And forasmuch as all mens actions are ſubiect to miſcenſure², and ſome (perhaps) may thinke the labour loſt, which is beſtowed in this enterprife, foreiudging the Countrey being rude, barbarous and heathen, to bee vnprofitable; I will therefore here particularly ſhew wherein our Countreymen of the ſeuerall profeſſions before mentioned, may profitably labour in this worke, and performe thereby to God a ſeruiſe moſt acceptable, and regiſter their fame to all poſteritie.

First, the Scholler in diuine learning may worthily labour the conuerſion of infinite numbers of vnbeleeuing people, who may be reduced to a quiet, ſober, and ciuill life: the ſcoller in Philoſophy, and other Learning, may doe much good by training vp of the youth in the knowledge of the litterall³ arts, and by the practiſe of his ſkill in Phiſicke and Chirurgery: the Statiſt may highly aduance his Princes ſeruiſe, and his Countries good, by giuing ayd vnto this action, and his diſcreet and prouident furtherance in managing the buſineſſe thereof: The Souldier and Traueller, by bearing armes in the execution of this noble enterprife, and by memorable diſcoueries of ſtrange and vnknowne Countries and Nations, may open the way to increaſe and enlarge the Dominion of our Soueraigne: the Merchant by aſſiſting the plantation there, and by erecting conuenient factories for that purpoſe, may highly increaſe the trade of merchandiſe, by returning thence the riches and

¹ "Empire" was not infrequently used in older writings to denote simply an extensive territory (especially an aggregate of separate states).

² See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v., which quotes this passage: the substantive is treated as rare, the verb noted as obsolete.

³ At one time used as = literary. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

commodities there found and gathered. The Countrey-man that professeth husbandry and tillage of the earth, may also be sufficiently imployed for the increase of corne and cattell, and in planting, gathering, and getting as many rare and necessary fruits and provisions, as shall be needefull for the life of man. And lastly, the Mechannicall tradesman, and such as exercise the handy crafts, (in which company I include all sorts of labourers) may by this action of Guiana, highly aduance their trades and occupations, to their owne unspeakable profit, and benefit of others, by their diuers and sundry workes for seuerall uses, and for persons of all quality whatsoeuer¹; and may teach the people of that Countrey (being once conuerted to christianity, and brought to the knowledge of ciuill gouernement) such seuerall trades, as our experience shall finde necessarie for them, and conuenient for vs.

Having heere particularly shewed wherein our Countrey-men of diuers professions may worthily follow their vocations, and imploy their endeouours in this action: I leaue the matter whereon they are to worke, to be more fully expressed in the following discourse.

And because they may the better be encouraged in this enterprise, by examples of the like nature: let vs looke into the discoveries and conquests, performed by the Spaniards, in the East and West Indies; but chiefly in the West: where with a small number, and as it were with a handfull of men, Hernando Cortez a Spaniard, in the yeere of our Lord 1519. discovered and conquered that great, mighty, and rich Kingdome of New Spaine, and the Citie of Mexico².

And in the yeere of our Lord 1531. Don Francisco Pizarro attempted the conquest of the great Kingdome of

¹ A rather complicated expression—we should now say “work of all kinds for all sorts of people.”

² The conquest of Mexico covered the years 1519–21: it was in 1522 constituted a kingdom under the appellation of New Spain, governed by a Viceroy. The conquest of Peru is variously given as 1524–33 and 1529–35 (this last by Heeren, *Manual of the Political History of Europe etc.*, trans. of 5th ed., London, 1873, p. 54). A full account of Pizarro's effort is found in Herrera's *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos etc.* Decad v, 1615. See also Hakluyt and others.

Peru; he vanquished Atibalipa¹, the King of that Countrey, conquered and subdued many spacious and rich Prouinces; and in the end after infinite perils and dangers by practise of the Indians and much variety of fortune, by ciuill warres with his owne Nation, he atchiued his enterprife. The particulars of these discoueries and conquests, are more at large recounted by Peter Martyr² in his *Decades*, by Benzo³, and diuers other Authors, to which for breuities sake I referre you. The honour these Spaniards gained by these discoueries and conquests, was doubtleffe great: but the benefit that ensued to the Crowne of Spaine, and all the Spanish Nation thereby, was infinite beyond expectation, as amply may appeare in the Authors late mentioned, and in the *Naturall and Morrell history of the East and West Indies*, written by Iosephus Acosta⁴.

Let vs also note the wonderfull workes of God in those Countries, and his great mercy thereby shewed to the Indians, who by their continuall conuersation with Christians, are reduced from their abominable⁵ life and cruell manners, to

¹ This is the form of the name (Atahualpa) which Raleigh uses: see Schomburgk's note on p. 11 of his edition of *Raleigh's Discoverie* (Hak. Soc., 1st ser. vol. III).

² Peter Martyr—Petrus Martyr—Pietro Martire d'Anghiera—was born in 1455 or 1459 at Arona (on Lago Maggiore), went to Spain, joined the army there in 1488, was ordained a priest in 1494 and ultimately became Dean of Granada, where he died in 1525-6. He was a friend of all the famous voyagers, Columbus and others. Amid many contributions to geography he published *The decades of The New World*, which was translated into English by Richard Eden, London, 4^o, 1555. This is doubtless the volume to which Harcourt refers.

³ Benzo—apparently an error for Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, comprising a narrative of his own travels, 1541-66. This work was edited by Admiral W. H. Smyth for the Hakluyt Society, 1857. It is curious that Purchas has the same mistake.

⁴ This history by Padre Joseph Acosta, S.J. (*Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*), was published in Seville in 1590: it begins with a discussion of the theories of the shape of the globe, etc., passes to climate—the Torrid Zone, the trade winds—and so goes on to record the efforts at conquest. It was edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1879.

⁵ The regular spelling from Wycliffe to the seventeenth century. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

the knowledge of God, and their former infidelity¹, and to the fruition of the holy Ghost in Baptisme; for in all those great Prouinces, conquered in New Spaine, the people are generally conuerted to Christianity²: for about the yeere of our Lord 1524. there went diuers learned men into those parts, who by learning the Indians languages, and their painefull diligence in teaching and instructing youth, did so effectually proceed in that laborious worke, that within the limits of many hundred leagues, there are few or none vnchristened. The beginning of that Worke was very difficult, by reason of the vnaptnesse of the Indians, so long imbrued in cruell sacrifices of humane blood, and abhominable Idolatry, and by the continuall malice of the diuell, rebelling against God, and struiuing to maintaine his owne kingdome: but in the end their constant and painefull indeuours so farre preuailed, that Christian religion increased amongst them, to the establishing of many Bishopricks in New Spaine, besides diuers Schooles of learning. So likewise in Peru, and diuers other Countries, conquered by the Spaniards, the conuerfions of the people haue proceeded to no lesse admirable effects.

As touching the state of common wealth³, they haue all sorts of Gouvernours, and Magistrates in great honour and reputation; houses of Nobility and Gentry flourish, and increase amongst them; Souldiers, and traouellers are regarded highly, and worthily rewarded; Merchants, and tradesmen

¹ At first sight this passage suggests some misplacement of words, but on examination it can be read with good sense as it stands, though the collocation "Knowledge of God and [of] their former infidelity" is curious. The awkwardness was perceived and in the 2nd ed. it reads "are reduced from their abhominable life cruell manners and former infidelity to the knowledge of God and to the fruition, etc."

² A brief but sufficiently illuminating reference to the conversion of the natives as a definite political instrument in the subjugation of the new countries will be found in Heeren's *Manual of the Political History of Europe, etc.*—trans. of 5th ed., London, 1873, p. 53. It will also be useful to read a contemporary Spanish view of the matter in *Ven. App.* 1, p. 121 c sqq., and again *ibid.* p. 195.

³ A rather interesting phrase indicating a half-way stage to the use of the term "commonwealth" in a definite political sense. See again on p. 60 *ad med.*

prosper, and gather wealth in extraordinary measure; what shall I say more, there bee few or no professions or trades amongst vs, in these parts of Christendome, but the same are vsed, followed, and practised in great perfection, both in New Spaine, Peru, and other parts of the Indies, where the Spaniards haue preuailed by their Conquests.

By these memorable examples may our Nation (being in valour inferiour to none other vnder Heauen) bee moued and stirred vp to the undertaking of this noble action of Guiana; which in respect of the climate, fertility of the soile, and tractable disposition of the people (whereof in the following discourse I haue spoken more at large) doth assure vs that (with Gods fauour and assistance) as great effects may bee wrought in the conuersion of these Nations, and as great benefit, and commoditie may arise to the Realme and Crowne of England, both in generall, and particular, as euer was performed or obtained by the Spanish Nation, since the first beginning of their trauels and discoveries.

For if they in New Spaine, and Peru, haue Cuchenille¹, Anir², and Cotton wooll; wee in Guiana haue also Cotton wooll Tobacco, Suger-Canes, diuers good commodities for Dyers, and likewise in all likelihood Cuchenille; and sundry sorts of excellent wood for ioyners worke, and other vses³. If they haue variety of Apothecary drugges, and Balsome for Phisicke, and Chirurgery; so also haue wee, and those that are of admirable vertue. If they haue gold, siluer, and other

¹ Cochineal is obtained from the dried bodies of the *Coccus cacti*, which is common in Mexico. The history of the word is curious (*Oxf. Dic. s.v.*).

² Anil—*al nil* (Arabic) = indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*), “the trivial name of the West Indian Indigo” (*Oxf. Dict.* which quotes from act xxiii. Eliz. 9) “a nele alias blew Ink.” It was a product greatly in demand in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hakl. vol. 1, p. 432 cites a strict instruction from Richard Haklitt of the Middle Temple to a dyer sent into Persia in 1579 to look for the “herbe anile.” The chemical base “aniline,” of which we now hear so much, was originally obtained by distilling indigo with caustic potash.

³ The first impression of the West Indian woods is their attractiveness for cabinet work. Yet beyond mahogany very few have come into use, the excuse usually given is that they are so hard to work, turning the edge of the ordinary tool.

mettalls; Pearles, and pretious stonnes; so double¹ wee in time may haue the like, hauing had good testimony thereof already; as plainly shall appeare hereafter, when time better serueth.

Moreouer, one singular aduantage wee haue before them to further, and aduance our enterprife, by the peculiar loue and affection of the people in those parts, towards our Nation before all others. For whereas the Spaniards were constrained by great labour, bloody battailes, and much cruelty (for which they lost their hearts)² to subdue the Indians; wee contrariwise are well entertained, and friendly receiued by them, being willing to hold commerce with vs; whereby wee haue a more secure and ready meane, to establish a peaceable and assured Commonwealth amongst them, for the imployment of all the seuerall professions of men mentioned before.

Finally, for your better inducement to the worthy undertaking of this high action; let vs call to remembrance one excellent and materiall obseruation; that is the discovery of this Countrey of Guiana, was heretofore attempted by S^r. Walter Raleigh, who made an honourable entry thereinto by the riuer of Orenoque; what hee then, and there discovered, and how great and assured his hopes were, of gaining to our Countrey inestimable riches, and subduing to the Crowne of England a potent Empire, was effectually, and faithfully published³ to the world by his owne penne; which excellent discourse I wish you to peruse, proceeding from so wise and iudiciall an Author; who if some knowne fortunes had not crossed his first intendiments⁴, for the prosecuting of that enterprife, had (in all likelihood) long before this time increased the honour of our Nation, by the reputation of the most famous

¹ Evidently a misprint for *doubtlesse*.

² The words in parenthesis read awkwardly: apparently they mean "through which they completely alienated the Indians."

³ Raleigh's *Discoverie of... Guiana* was edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Robert Schomburgk, as already stated on p. 5 *supra*. Reference may also be made to Hume's *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1897).

⁴ Intendiment = intention—a rare form. The *Oxf. Dict.* gives examples dated 1595–1608.

and rich discovery and conquest that the world could afford.

Let vs herewithal obserue, that before his time it was often attempted by the Spaniards¹, but to small effect; for eyther by misfortune of shipwrack, discention amongst the most eminent persons in their Troopes, mutiny of the souldiers, mistaking of the Commanders, or violent fury of the Indians (who beare an inueterate and mortall hatred against them) they haue euer failed of their purpose: whereof the said discourse of S^r. Walter Raleigh maketh particular mention more at large.

The continuall losse, and great misfortunes that haue followed the Spaniards from time to time, in all their attempts of this discovery and conquest, for the space almost of an hundred yeeres; and the fortunate sucresse that most happily fauoured the other in his first attempt thereof, may bee a great presumption, and may giue vs an assured hope, that the powerfull hand of God doth worke for vs in this behalfe; and hath reserued the execution of this action for the honour of our Nation².

Which forcible considerations, gaue me great encouragement to repaire the decay of so worthy an enterprise, not with intent to rob him of his honour, who first of all our Nation (nobly with great iudgement and valour) gaue the onfet; but rather to doe him more honour, by working vpon his foundation, and prosecuting this proiect, according to his first designs, which doubtlesse aimed at the glory of God, his Soueraignes seruice, and his Countries good.

Hereupon I made triall of my fortune³ in the attempt, and haue found the sucresse so prosperous and hopefull, (although it hath been chargeable vnto mee) and my acceptance so free and friendly amongst the Indians, that it hath giuen not only to my selfe, but also to the rest of my associats, (who with the

¹ See Introduction, pp. 4-5.

² Very similar is Herrera's conviction that by the grace of God the discovery of the New World (through Columbus) was reserved for the glory of Spain.

³ "Fortune" probably means simply what "luck" does in the common phrase "try my luck." He did however expend his resources.

loue and good liking of the people¹, haue liued and remained in Guiana for the space of three yeares) good assurance of repaying the charge past with trebble recompence²; and a resolu'd courage to proceed in the enterprize, to the prosecution whereof, we haue deuoted both our substance and our selues.

And because the life of this Action consisteth in the timely progresse thereof, and requireth the assistance of many Ad-uenturers; I thought it very needful to lay before you these former examples, and materiall considerations: and therewithall doe recommend vnto your view this following Discourse (wherein I haue compiled the hopefull fruites of my painefull trauels) thereby to moue you to wipe away from your eyes, the cloudie incredulous blindnesse that possessed our forefathers in the dayes of Henry the seuenth, when they reiected the offer made by Bartholomew Columbus, in the behalfe of his brother Christopher Columbus, and thereby lost the fruition of those inestimable riches in the West Indies, which now wee see possessed by the Spanish Nation³: And also doe inuite and summon my Country-men in generall, to rouse vp their valour, to quicken and spurre on their endeouours, to be coadiutors with vs in this action, both of honour and profit.

And because it may be objected to the discouragement of such as may haue otherwise a desire to inhabit Guiana, that

¹ See text, p. 113.

² Similar protestations occur in the Dutch records: see for instance *Ven. App.* vol. 1, p. 25.

³ This story does not agree with that which Hakluyt quotes from Fernando Columbus's life of his father. That version is to the effect that Christopher sent his brother Bartholomew to offer "the discovery of the West Indies" to Henry VII; that the offer was made on 13 February 1488 and "joyfully accepted"; but when Bartholomew went back to bring his brother to England he found him already away on the voyage, which proved successful, "because," as the Chronicler naively adds, "God had reserved the said offer for Castile." Henry VII certainly commissioned the Cabots. "Cloudie incredulous blindnesse" is hardly a fair description of the general attitude. Bacon (Lord Verulam) on p. 189 of his *Historie of Henry VII* (London 1622) gives a somewhat different account of the incident, which equally acquits the king of any hesitation. For Hakluyt's account, see ed. 1600, vol. III, p. 3.

the Spaniards inhabiting about Cumana, Margarita, and Trinidad¹, may disturb our Plantation, and indanger the lives of those that shall make the first settlement there; I thought good to resolve all such as have affection to make themselves Conquerors of that goodly Countrey, that from the King of Spaines Indies nothing can offend them²; for Guiana being seated in the head of the Brises³, and to the wind-ward of all the Spanish Indies, the current also of the Sea setting to the West, maketh it impossible for any Shipping to turne it up⁴ from the forenamed places towards vs. The Spaniard therefore can no way offend⁵ vs but by a preparation out of Spaine it selfe. And whensoever he shall finde himselfe at so great leifure, as to send a Fleet out of Spaine to seeke vs out upon the shallow coast of Guiana, eyther we shall frustrate that attempt by raising a Fort defensible for two or three moneths (for they must famish if they stay longer) or else by setting our selues about two or three of the ouerfalles⁶ of the Riuers, where one hundred men will defend themselves against five thousand. But I am perswaded that the Spaniards will take great deliberation, and be well aduised of all insuing accidents, before they giue any attempt upon vs: for we doe

¹ Cumanà lies north-west of Guiana and north of the Orinoco. Santa Margarita lies off the coast to the north. Trinidad is situate to the east, off the mainland, and was settled from Margarita for the reason that if it "were not settled it would be impossible to settle Guayana" (*Ven. App.* vol. 1, p. 3). That the Spaniards would if they could break up any settlements by English or Dutch in Guiana is amply borne out by the despatches published in the Venezuelan Arbitration Case, see e.g. *Ven. App.* 1, pp. 29 D, 32-34, 43-4.

² Offend = attack. What Harcourt says as to the advantage in sailing is quite sound. Cf. the Dutch view, *Ven. App.* 1, p. 24 *ad med.*

³ This word (Span. *brisa*) originally means "a cold wind bringing mist," a north-easterly wind. In regard to the West Indies and the Spanish main it acquired a transferred sense and was specially applied to the north-east trade wind (*Oxf. Dict.* s.v. "breeze"). So it is used by Harcourt and the old navigators. Possibly from the beneficent nature of the trade winds the modern sense of a gentle wind had its origin.

⁴ *I.e.* make the coast.

⁵ *I.e.* attack, v. *supra*.

⁶ Clearly "waterfalls." Raleigh uses the word in the same way. The first meaning of the word given in the *Oxf. Dict.* is that of "tide race where one tide falls over the other."

not finde that they haue yet attempted any thing vpon Virginia¹, which lieth in their way homeward from the West Indies, albeit there haue passed many years since the first Plantation there. And surely, if Virginia had not a sharpe Winter, which Guiana hath not (which Countrey of Guiana is blest with a perpetuall Summer, and a perpetuall Spring) and that it had that store of victuals which Guiana hath, it would in a short time grow to be a most profitable place. But thus much I can auow truely, that from Guiana, without any great labour, there may be returned within the yeare, good store of Cotton Wooll, very rich Dyes, diuers sorts of Gummes, many sorts of Fethers, all kindes of rich Woods, Balsamums, Iasper, and Porpherie stone, Waxe, Honey, and Tobacco², and so euery yeare may we pay the Transportation³, untill we encrease in people to make Sugars, and discover Mines.

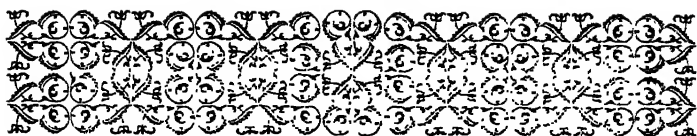
If the paines past bestowed in my first attempt, may taste of your gratefull acceptance, and that I may obtaine your willing furtherance in the future, I shall then thinke my paines well employed, and delight my selfe in labouring for your profit; and we all shall gaine honour and reputation, by vndergoing the burden of so worthy a worke; whereby our Nation shall bee greatly enriched, the Dominion of our Soueraigne much enlarged, and Gods seruice in those Countries highly aduanced.

R. H.

¹ Virginia was the one example of promising English settlement at that time: it was the subject of general interest and discussion. The reference to it is therefore natural enough.

² See notes on pp. 99–105. Compare the statements in a Petition to the States General of the United Netherlands of date about 1603: “a very suitable country for the cultivation of wheat, wine, oil, sugarcane, ginger, cotton, Brazil and other pepper, wood anil indigo and all other products which we are accustomed to cultivate in the same latitude and in similar climates in other quarters of the East and West Indies”; and the Petition goes on to cite various gums and the prospect of producing good cochineal (*Ven. App.* 1, p. 22).

³ It may not be superfluous to add an explanatory note. Harcourt's point is that from the first there will be enough to pay transport or carriage both of persons and merchandise (*i.e.* bare expenses)—that real profit depends on larger industries such as sugar manufacture.



A RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO

Guiana performed by *Robert*

Harcourt of *Stanton Harcourt* in the

Countie of OXFORD

Esquire.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1608. and the three 23, of March
and twentieth of March, when I had fur- 1608.
nished my selfe with one ship of fourescore
Tunnes called the *Rose*; a Pinnesse¹ of fixe
and thirtie Tunnes called the *Patience*; and a Shallop² of
nine Tunnes called the *Lilly*, which I built at *Dart-*
mouth; and had finished my other businesse there, and
prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage,
the winde reasonably seruing, I then imbarked my com-
panie, as followeth.

In the *Rose*, I was accompanied with captaine *Edward* The *Rose*.
Fisher, captaine *Edward Haruey*, master *Edward Gifford*³,
and my cofen *Thomas Harcourt*: And besides them, I
had of Gentlemen and others one and thirtie land men,
two Indians, and three and twentie Mariners and
Saylers.

In the *Patience*, my brother captain *Michael Harcourt*⁴ The *Patience*.

¹ This is one of over twenty forms of the word "pinnacle." *Oxf. Dict.*

² Shallop, Dutch sloop, our sloop—a vessel rigged fore and aft or with a lug. Cf. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

³ Apparently no special information is available as to these officers beyond that which occurs in the *Relation*—except as to Harvey, for whose second voyage see p. 10 *supra*.

⁴ The omission of the *u* in the name is probably a misprint: there are several such. Of his brother we know from the Harcourt papers (vol. 1, p. 81) that he also was an Oxford (Balliol) man.

had with him of gentlemen and others twentie land-men, and eleuen Mariners and Saylers.

The Lilly. In the *Lilly*¹, *Jesper Lilly* the Master, had one land-man, and two Saylers: so that my iust number (too great for so few ships of no greater burden) was in all fourescore & seuenteen, wherof threescore were land-men.

Land men 60.

They set saile
the 23. of
March.

Being thus imbarcked, wee set saile from the Rainge² at *Dartmouth* the said three and twentieth of March; but the winde altering vpon a sudden, put vs back againe that euening; and about two of the clock the next morning (it comming better for vs) we weighed anchor, and put to Sea: the euening following we lost sight of the *Lyzart*³, and steered away for the Canaries.

The first of
April 1609.
The Skallop
in danger
to be lost.

Vpon Saturday the first of Aprill 1609.⁴ towards the euening the winde increas'd and grew so violent, that my Shallop (which we towed in a Cablet⁵ by reason of the foule weather) was that night seperated from vs; for by the rage and fury of the winde and Sea, the Cablet brake in funder, and the little Barke was in great danger to be cast away, but it pleased God to preferue her, for the next morning we discryed her to *Leeward* of vs, contrary to our expectation, hauing giuen her lost.

Then holding on our course, the seuenth day wee fell⁶ with *Alegranza* and *Lancerote*⁷, two Islands of the

¹ The *Lily* of nine tons, with a crew of four, was not singular in those days as a precursor of "freak" voyages across the Atlantic!

² The Rainge is a stretch of water outside the Dart extending as far as Western Ledge Buoy (*Letter from Town Clerk, Dartmouth*).

³ "Lyzart"—a form of "Lizard" not noted amongst the variants in the *Oxf. Dict.*, though "Lyzard" is.

⁴ In the twelfth century the beginning of the year was changed from Christmas Day to Lady Day, 25 March, and this date held its own till 1752. Harcourt started just before the close of a year, his voyage fell almost entirely in 1609.

⁵ "Cablet" is a rope less than ten inches in circumference. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁶ This was the ordinary phrase in the early part of the seventeenth century; "fall in with" is later.

⁷ The most northerly and easterly islands of the group. *Allegranza* is little more than a rock and the description given would hold at the present day.

Canaries: wee floode in with *Alegranza* and came to anchor on the South-west side thereof; that euening and the next day I landed my company to exercife their limbs on shoare: in this Island we found no inhabitants, nor fresh-water, neither fruitfull tree, plant, herbe, grasse, nor any thing growing that was good, onely an abundance of vnwholsome Sea-foule, which after one meale were vnfaury & distasteful, & a few wilde Caprītōs, or wilde Goats, which the craggy rocks defended frō our hands, and hungry mouthes.

They ariue at
Alegranza.

The eighth of Aprill we departed from *Alegranza*, and directed our courſe for *Tenerife*, another of the Islands. The eleuenth day I ſent the Pinneſſe, and the Shalloppe to water at the calmes¹, and there to attend my comming; but with my Shippe I held my courſe for *Orotauo*², a towne on the other ſide of the Island, in hope to get ſome wine amongſt the Merchants there; but not being able (by reaſon of a contrary winde) to double *Punta de Nega*, wee altered our courſe from wine to water. And the twelfth day wee Paſſed by *Santa Cruz*, and watered that euening at the Calmes.

Tenerife.

This watering place is very conuenient for all ſuch as paſſe by thoſe Islands, and is thus to bee found; there is a wooden croſſe neere vnto it, the high *Pike*³ of *Tenerife* beareth due North from it. There is alſo a ledge of rockes to the Eaſtward of the landing place, which is a ſhort Sandy bay. When you are landed, you ſhall finde the place about forty or fifty yardes from the Sea ſide.

An excellent
watering
place.

¹ Evidently the eaſtern ſide of *Teneriffe*, with its equable climate, was well known to early navigators. "Unless the winds are well round to the north-eaſt they are not much felt...this eaſtern ſlope is drier and ſunnier and the temperature higher than the northern ſide" (Taylor, *Health Resorts of the Canary Islands*, 1893). Sir W. Raleigh in his Journal of his laſt voyage ſpeaks of "the calmes of the great Canares" (Hak. Soc. vol. III, p. 183) and compare *Afr. Pilot*, 1899, pt 1, p. 169 *ad fin.*

² Orotava, in the iſland of *Teneriffe*, has now been made one of the principal health reſorts of the Canary iſlands (Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 58).

³ "Pike" for "peak" or "pico." Compare in the Lake Diſtrict.

The next day we met againe with the Pinnesse and the Shalloppe, who missing of the right place, had not yet watered, wherefore wee stood backe againe to guide them to it; but the winde preuenting vs, enforced them to seeke for water elsewhere, which with some difficulty they obtained vpon the fifteenth day in the morning.

Then wee stood on our course for the riuer of *Wiapoco* in *Guiana*, hauing a prosperous winde, faire weather, and a smooth Sea. The ninth day of May, wee fell into the current of the great and famous riuer of *Amazones*, which putteth out into the Sea such a violent and mighty streame of fresh water, that being thirty leagues from land, wee drunke thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a spring or poole¹.

The riuer of
Amazones.
Fresh water
in the Sea
30 leagues
from land.

This riuer for the great and wonderfull breadth, (contayning at the mouth neere Sixty leagues) is rightly termed by *Iosephus Acosta* the Empreffe and Queene of all flouds²: and by *Hieronimus Giraua Tarraconensis*³: it

Ioseph Acosta.
Hieron.
Giraua
Tarraconensis.

¹ "The stream of the Amazon, which is black, discolours the Ocean for a distance of 50 miles from its mouth," says the *S. American Pilot* (an Admiralty publication), vol. 1, ch. xiii: and it adds a note, "Col. Sabine states that he found the stream of the Amazon in blue water in Lat. 5° N. and Long. 50½° W.," which would be some 300 miles from the mouth: the longitude given is curious, as it is so far west of the direct drive of the current. The modern accounts do not appear to record freshness of water at any distance from the shore, though they say that its waters remain distinguishable from those of the ocean as far as 400 to 500 miles from its mouth (see *Dict. of Geog.* 1877, s.v., and Longman's *Gazetteer*, 1895, s.v.). Possibly the statement as to fresh water in older geographies (e.g. Clarke's new *Geog. Dict.* 1824) came from Harcourt. Similarly the Orinoco is credited by Depons with remaining fresh at more than thirty leagues (say 100 miles) from its mouth. But Sir Robert Schomburgk (introduction to his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie of...Guiana*, Hakl. Soc. ser. 1, vol. III, p. lxxiv) observes that the statement can only be regarded as fabulous. The water is, however, fresh at a considerable distance from the mouth.

² Probably quoted from memory. Acosta's words are "justamente se puede llamar Emperador de los Rios"; he keeps the river masculine! (*Historia Nat. y Moral*, lib. II, cap. 6).

³ Girava wrote *Dos Libros de cosmographia*, Milan 1556. His actual words are "greatest in India or the new world": he looks upon the terms as interchangeable.

is said to bee the greatest not only of all *India*, but also of the whole world; and for the greatnes is called of many the sweete Sea¹: It riseth and floweth from the Mountaines of *Peru*, and draweth out her streams in many windings & turnings vnder the Equinoctiall, for the space of one thousand & five hundred leagues and more: although from her fountaines and springs vnto the Sea it is but six hundred². When wee entred into the aforesaid current, wee founded, and had fouerty fouer³ fadome⁴ water, sandy founding. The tenth day⁵ the colour of the water changed, & became muddy, whitish, and thicke; then wee founded againe at twelue of the clocke at noone, and had thirteene fadome; and seauenteene at fower in the after noone. The eleauenth day at eight of the clocke in the morning we made land, the vttermoſt point thereof bearing West from vs, and came to anchor in five fadome water.

The 11 of
May they
made land
in *Guiana*.

At night the Patience putting in to neare the shoare came to anchor in 2½ fadome water vpon the flood, which fell from her vpon the ebbe, and left her dry vpon the Oaze⁶, and the next flood comming in, did so shake and beate her against the ground, that before shee could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribbes so rent and crased⁷, that if Almighty God had

The Patience
in danger of
wracke.

¹ Girava again (*op. cit.* p. 227)—“*algunos lo llaman Mar dulce por la grandeza del.*” Compare Hakl. III, p. 699: “the river which is called the sea of fresh water.” Acuña speaks of it as “the largest sea of fresh water that has ever been discovered.” See Markham’s *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, Hak. Soc. ser. I, vol. XXIV, p. 47 n. and p. 132.

² For a good brief description of the Amazon by a modern geographer see Keith Johnston’s *Dict. Geog.* reproduced in Longman’s *Gazetteer*, 1895. The actual length of the river from near Lima downwards is computed to be 4000 miles (*Enc. Brit.* 11th ed., vol. I, p. 784).

³ “Fouer”: our familiar word and its derivatives had these and many other forms before it settled down. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁴ The older form of fathom, derived from the older “*faedmian*, to embrace with both arms.”

⁵ *I.e.* 10th May, see *supra*, p. 68

⁶ “Oaze,” an old form of “ooze,” *i.e.* wet mud or slime. *Oxf. Dict.* which gives as a separate word the oaze (*wase*) which = seaweed.

⁷ “Crased” (obsolete) = broken, cracked. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

not preserved her, she had been wrackt: but (God bee thanked) with much ado she came off into deeper water, and mended her rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then wee followed on our course, coasting along to the North-north-west, the land so trending. It is very shoale¹ all along this coast, the ground soft ooze, but no danger to bee feared, keeping our ship in five fadome water.

When wee came to the latitude of two degrees and a halfe, wee anchored in a goodly bay, by certaine Islands, called *Carripapoor* I did at that time forbear to make particular discovery of this coast, intending (if God spare me life) to make a perfect discovery of the famous river of *Amazones*, and of her severall branches, and countries bordering vpon it, and of all this tract of land from the *Amazones*, vnto the river of *Wiapoco*, which containeth many goodly Prouinces, and Signories², which are in this discourse, but briefly mentioned³: For at this time I purpose onely to prosecute my first proiect, which hastened mee vnto another place.

From hence I stood along the coast, and the seauenteenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*: where the Indians came off vnto vs in two or three Indian boats. *Canoes⁴, as well to learne of what Nation wee were, as also to trade with vs, who vnderstanding that wee were

¹ *I.e.* shallow: constantly used by the old navigators. It is regularly used to-day by the seamen in Newfoundland. Compare "Shoal harbour" in that Colony.

² "Signories" = seignories. As a feudal term in English publicist documents this would be familiar to Harcourt, who uses it throughout this account for "territory under the dominion of a lord" or superior chief.

³ Harcourt is thinking of the country close to the Amazon, for he does later (pp. 79-83 *infra*) give comparatively full details as to "seignories" lying between the Amazon and Oyapok.

⁴ Apparently the asterisk is intended to indicate that "Canoes" is explained in margin. It is curious to us now to find any explanation necessary, but compare Cabeliau's Journal (*Ven. App.* 1, p. 18 *ad fin.*), "een schuijte genaemt bij de Indiaenen Canno."

Englilh¹ men boldly came aboard vs one of them could speake our language well, and was knowne to some of my company to bee an Indian, that sometime had been in England, and serued Sr. *Iohn Gilbert*² many yeeres: they brought with them such dainties as their country yeeldeth; as hennes, fish, pinas, platanaes, potatoes, bread of *Cassai*, and such like cates³ which were heartily welcome to my hungry company: In recompence whereof, I gaue them kniues, beades, Iewes trumpes⁴, and such toies, which well contented them. But when I had awhile entertained them, and made knowne vnto them the returne of the Indian *Martyn*⁵ their countryman, whom I brought with mee out of England, they seemed exceeding ioyfull, supposing that hee had been dead, being about foure yeares since hee departed from them.

The Indian before mentioned to haue serued Sr. *Iohn Gilbert* (whose name was Iohn) whilest hee liued (for he is now dead, and died a Christian) was a great helpe vnto vs, because hee spake our language much better then either of those that I brought with mee, and was euer firme & faithfull to vs, vntill his death. By him I vnderstood that their town was scituate vpō the east side of the hil in the mouth of *Wiapoco*, & was called *Caripo*: that the Indian *Martin* was Lord therof, and that in his absence his brother was chiefe. Moreouer hee certified me that the principall Indian of that riuer

¹ This is not a vain statement: it is corroborated from a Dutch source. Cabeliau's voyage (*Ven. App.* i, p. 18 *ad fin.*) records the same touching trust in the English.

² Sir John Gilbert elder brother of Sir Humphrey, who was a man of means and knighted in 1576, is probably intended here.

³ *I.e.* dainties.

⁴ "Jews trumpes" an earlier name for Jew's harps: see *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. and *Enc. Brit.* 11th ed., xv, p. 411. As a present for Indians, see *Storm* (Hak. Soc. ser. 11, vol. xxvii, p. 669).

⁵ This Martin must have been taken to England by Leigh's party in 1605, which corresponds with the statement that it was "above foure yeares since hee departed from them." There seems to have been little difficulty in persuading the Indians to go across the sea, as this narrative indicates. More than 200 years later (1839) Schomburgk brought Indians home with him (see note to p. 25 *supra*).

A village
called *Caripo*.

A messenger
sent to the
Indians.

was called *Carasana*, (who by good fortune) was then at *Caripo*, and so hauing spent some time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they tooke their leaue, and departed for that time. I sent one of my company with them to giue notice to *Carasana*, & the rest of the Indians of *Caripo*, that I had brought home their Countryman *Martin*, whom they all thought to be dead, and another of their Nation also¹, who had kindred and friends amongst them: to desire him to come aboard my ship, and to bring with him the principall Indians of *Caripo*, that I might declare vnto them the cause of my comming into their Country, and conferre with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the riuer of *Wiapoco*, and Anchored ouer against the *Sandy Bay*.

The Indians
came aboard.

The chiefe
men of the
Nation of the
Yaios couer
their
priuities.

The day following the Indians came aboard as I had desired and brought vs good store of their Country prouision: *Carasana*, and one or two more of them were attired in old clothes, which they had gotten of certaine Englishmen, who (by the direction of Sir *Walter Raleigh*)² had traded there the yeere before; the rest were all naked both men and women³; and this I obserued amongst them, that although the better sort of men (especially the *Yaios*) doe couer their priuities, by

¹ This second Indian is doubtless the one described (p. 73) as Anthony Canabre who had been in England fourteen years. This takes him back exactly to the date of Raleigh's first voyage: he must have come from a distant part of the country. Harcourt merely says "another of their Nation," which would in his mind cover the whole of Guiana.

² This statement is very specific, yet there is no record so far discovered of an expedition by Raleigh's order in 1607 or 1608. Mr Harlow's suggestion (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. LVI, p. lxx) that this was Roe's expedition in which Raleigh was a shareholder is quite erroneous (see Introduction, p. 9 note). The statement may simply be a slip on Harcourt's part: only a year or so previously the last of Leigh's expedition had left the coast, or the Indians got the clothes some years earlier. We know how they cherish and guard them. (See Rich. Schomburgk, vol. I, sec. 307, 396-7, 523; vol. II, sec. 901 and *passim*.)

³ The same thing struck the Dutchman Cabeliau (*Ven. App.* I, p. 18) and indeed most travellers. See also Richard Schomburgk, *passim*.

wearing ouer them a little peece of Cotton cloth pretily wouen after their manner; yet did I neuer see any of their women couered in any part, either aboue or beneath the waste, albeit they daily conuersed amongst vs, but were all (as the plaine prouerbe¹ is) euen starke belly naked².

The women generally goe all naked.

At their comming aboard my ship, first *Carasana* as the principall amongst them, and after him the rest, saluted and welcōmed vs after their rude maner. I vsed them with all curtesie, and entertained them as wel as the straight roome would giue me leaue, giuing them good store of *Aquauitæ*³, which they loue exceedingly: I presented to their view their two countrymen, *Martyn* the Lord of their towne, and *Anthony Canabre*, who was a christian, and had liued in *England* fourteen yeers⁴, both which I had brought home vnto them: when they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference knew to bee the same persons, whom they supposed had been long since dead, they exprest much joy and contentment: and vnderstanding (from their owne mouthes) how well I had vsed them, they seemed to bee better pleased with our comming: and when their rude salutations to their new come countrymen were ended, I tooke them apart, and thus declared the cause of my coming⁵.

First, I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sr. *Walter Raleigh* in their country, in the raigne of our late Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*,

Their conference with the Indians.

¹ "Proverbe" here is used in the first sense given in *Oxf. Dict.* "a short pithy saying in common and recognised use."

² The phrase "starke belly naked" is cited by *Oxf. Dict.* from Palsgrave (1530) in exactly this form.

³ Probably here for brandy, but later on, p. 77, used of their own fermented drink.

⁴ See first note on previous page.

⁵ How much Harcourt really made the Indians understand, and how far they understood him, must be very doubtful. But allowing here, as with all these explorers, latitude to the imagination, it is remarkable how quickly the English (and also the Dutch) established relations with the native tribes.

when (to free them from seruitude) hee most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at *Trinidad*: burned their towne: tooke their Gouvernour *Don Anthonio de Berreo* prisoner; deliuered fve of the Indian Kings imprifoned, and bound by the necke with collers of Iron; and with great labour and perill difcouered the riuier of *Orenoque*, and the countreyes adioyning, as far as the Prouince of *Aromaya*, the countrey of *Topiawary*, and the riuier of *Caroly* beyond it¹. And that their countreyemen called the *Orenoqueponi*², (who are the borderers of the *Orenoque*) did then most willingly fubmit and render themfelues vnder the fubiection of the late Queene; all which they well remembred, and faid, that Sr. *Walter Raleigh* promifed to haue returned againe vnto them long fince.

The *Orenoqueponi* rendred themfelues fubjects to Queene Elizabeth.

Then I excufed his not returning according to his promife, by reafon of other imployments of great importance impofed vpon him by the late Queene: fhewing them moreouer, that when he could not (for that caufe) returne himfelfe, hee fent Captaine *Keymis*³ to vifite them, and to bring him true intelligence of their eftate, (fuppofing that he had left no Spaniards behind him at *Trinidad* of power to moleft them) to the end that releef & aid might be prepared for them, according to their neceffities, and oppreffion of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queene⁴, whereby that bufineffe of theirs was againe hindered.

Moreouer I declared vnto them, that our gracious

¹ Harcourt cites all this from Raleigh's *Discoverie of...Guiana*, and may or may not have used this language. For the incidents, apart from Raleigh's own account, see *Ven. App.* vol. 1, p. 9. But they happened far away from the country where Harcourt was fpeaking, and it is difficult to believe that there was no imagination in the account he gives of the Indian remembrance of them. On the other hand we have evidence (see p. 80 *infra ad init.*) of the wide area of the Yaio country.

² This word is taken from Raleigh's *Discoverie*. Thence it got on to Hondius' maps and with a curious error in the termination to others. For meaning fee Schomb. (*Hak. Soc.* III, p. 78 n.).

³ For *Keymis*' voyage (1596) fee *Hakl.* vol. III, pp. 672-87, and Introduction, p. 5 *supra*.

⁴ Queen Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603.

Soueraigne Lord King JAMES, who now raigneth ouer vs, (being the onely right and lawfull heire, and Successor, to the Crowne and dignity of the Realme of *England*, after the death of the late Queene) was throughout the whole land proclaimed King of *England*; and so comming to raigne ouer vs, hath been euer since busied in ordering the State and affaires of the Kingdome, which being (by his great wifdome) settled in tranquillity and peace, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his subiects to trauell abroad into forraigne Countreyes, and Nations to aid and affist all such as are vniustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon I, and the rest of these worthy Gentlemen my affociats and friends, hauing intelligence by some that had been followers of Captaine *Charles Lee*¹, (who was a man well knowne amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their Countrey to his Maiesties vse, and was planted diuers yeares in *Wiapoco*, where he lyeth buried²) of the great variance and discord depending betweene them the allyed nations, the *Yaios*, *Arwaccas*, *Sappaïos*, & *Paragotos*³; and their enemies the *Charibes*; (all inhabiting betweene the riuers of *Amazones*, and *Dessequebe*)⁴ haue made a long and dangerous voyage into those parts, to appease their discensions, and defend them against the *Charibes*, or other enemies that shall molest or oppresse them: and now being there arriued, do intend to make search in those Countreies for conuenient places, where such of our

Possession of the Countrey taken at *Wiapoco*, by Captaine *Lee* to his Maiesties vse.

¹ For Captain Charles Lee (more correctly Leigh) and his voyage in 1604 see Purchas iv, p. 1250, and Introduction, p. 6.

² For Leigh's death at Wiapoco see *The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wanstead, Essex*, in Purchas, vol. iv (Lib. vi, c. 14).

³ For the Indian tribes see Introduction, pp. 19-25.

⁴ The first mention of Essequibo, which ultimately he seems to have taken as the limit of his grant, see p. 136. In the *Cal. State Papers* (and elsewhere sometimes if memory does not play one false) the word is written "Dollesquebe": that form is probably a simple error of copying. For the more prevalent forms of the name see *Storm van 's Gravesande* (Hak. Soc. ser. 11, vol. xxvi, p. 9 n.).

Nation as shall hereafter come to defend them, may bee fitly feated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those Nations shall attempt at any time to disturb the quiet liuing of their neighboures, they may haue store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not spare their paines to appease their discords, nor their liues to defend them from harme.

When I had thus declared vnto them the cause of my comming, they made this answere; that with our comming they were well pleased; but our number of men they thought too great, that they wanted meanes to prouide vs bread sufficient for them all, hauing but a small Towne, few gardens, and slender prouision for their owne companies, because since Captaine *Lee* his death, and his mens departure from them, they neuer made prouision for any strangers.

I replied, that albeit their towne was small, and their gardens few, (for the grounds wherein they plant their *Cassau*¹, whereof they make their bread, they call their gardens) yet their Countrey was full of inhabitants, and had store of gardens to supplie our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other prouisions sufficient for a greater number, which I desired might be weekly brought vnto vs, as need required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would giue them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: as axes, hatchets, kniues, beades, looking-glasses, Iewes trumps², and such like things wherein they most delight.

The Indians
goe to
council.

Then they desired to consult amongst themselves, which I permitted, and expected their answere about two howres, which time they spent in debating the matter

¹ "Cassava" or Manioc is almost "the staff of life" in the West Indies: the cakes are one of the first delicacies the traveller learns to appreciate. Any book on the country refers to it, and it comes up several times in this *Relation*. "Gardens" of course means "cultivated plots."

² See note on p. 71.

after their maner, & drinking *Aquauitæ*¹, and in the end desired my prefence, and made me this answere.

That they were contented and well pleased wee should liue amongst them; that they would furnish vs with houses to lodge in, and provide all necessaries for vs in the best manner they could. But whereas I said our King would permit his people to liue & abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies; they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and said they were but words, hauing heretofore been *promised the like, but nothing performed. To resolute that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them that what I had spoken should certainly bee performed, and to that end would leaue my brother in their country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, vntill a greater supplie might bee sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to giue credit to my words: And so after much talke, and many complements to please the naked people, I gaue to *Carasana* a sword, and to the rest some other things, which pleased them well: and then after their manner taking their leaue, they departed. The next day the Indian *Martyn* went ashore, and seemed ioyfull that hee had againe recouered his owne home.

Their answer.

* By Sr. *Walt. Raleigh*, and Capt. *Lee*.

The Indian *Martyn* goeth ashore.

The English take land.

The English feasted by the Indians.

The day following I tooke land, with my companies in armes and colours displayed, and went vp vnto the towne, where I found all the women and children standing at their doores to behold vs. The principall Indians came out vnto me, and inuited me into the Captaines house, which vntill the returne of *Martyn* belonged vnto his brother, as chiefe Lord in his absence: I went vp with them, and was friendly feasted with many kinds of their Country cates; when I had well

¹ "Aquavitæ" here is presumably the Paiwari, or native spirit, of which there is a description later. The "two howres" raises a certain doubt, as functions of that nature are generally so prolonged. See Rich. Schomb. vol. I, sec. 558-9 and *passim*; cf. Hak. Soc. III, p. 102.

The gratefull
offer of
Martyn.

eaten and refreshed my selfe, *Martyn* tooke mee by the hand and said, that hee had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindnesse towards him, in such manner as hee desired; neither had hee such delicate fare, and good lodging for vs, as in England heretofore wee had been vsed vnto: but humbly intreated mee to accept of his house in good part for my selfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the rest should bee lodged in other Indian houses adioyning: and that such provisions as the Country yeelded, should bee provided for vs. His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who tooke mee by the hand one after another, and after their manner bade mee welcome. I gaue them many thanks, & some rewards for their kind entertainment; and thē disposed my company in conueniēt lodgings: but yet I kept a continual guard, as in time of warre.

The English
settled at *Cari-*
po in *Wiapoco*.
The strength
of the place.

When I had thus settled my company at this village¹, I went out to view the scituation of the place, and the aduantages for defence thereof. It is a great rockie Mountaine, not accessable by reason of fast² woods, and steepe rockes, but only in certaine places, which are narrow foote-paths, very steepe and easie to bee defended: whereby wee were lodged as in a Fort, and most conueniently in respect the harbour was so neer, for our shippes did ride at anchor vnderneath vs, ouer against the foote of the hill.

Being thus ariued vpon the Coast, I found the time of the yeare so vnseasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continuall raines³) wee were constrained to lie still and doe nothing for the space of three weekes, or a moneth; in which idle time I conferred with the Indians, sometime with one, sometime with another; and

¹ For situation of Caripo see p. 71 *supra ad fin.*

² "Fast" = vast. The *f* and *v* are interchangeable, and "vast" is found for "fast." *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. "fast."

³ Later, at p. 89 of text, Harcourt gives a brief description of the seasons. "The rains" are always avoided for active work. Compare Rich. Schomb. vol. 1, p. 97, sec. 334-5.

by helpe of my Indian *Anthony Canabre*, and the Indian *Iohn* aboue mentioned¹ (whom I vsed for my interpreters) I gathered from them as well as I could, the State of their Country; the manner of their gouernement and liuing; how they stood with their neighbours in tearmes of peace, and warre; and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the yeare in those parts: of their diuision, and account of times, and numbers; of the prouisions of their Country for victuals, and other necessaries; and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their Country yeeldeth, & what things were of most estimation amongst them; all which I haue briefly declared vnto your Highnesse² in this following discourse.

This goodly Country, and spacious Empire, is on the North part bounded with the Sea, and the great Riuer of *Orenoque*, wherein Sr. *Walter Raleigh* performed his worthy and memorable discouery: on the East and South parts, with the famous Riuer of *Amazones*; and on the West part with the Mountaines of *Peru*³.

The bounds
and limits of
Guiana.

The westermost branch of the Riuer of *Amazones* that falleth into the Sea; is called *Arrapoco*⁴; vpō which riuer are seated many goodly Signiories⁵ wel deseruing a particular discouery, which shall (by Gods permission) bee performed hereafter. To the North of *Arrapoco* is the riuer of *Arrawary*, which is a goodly riuer, discouering a gallant Country. From *Arrawary* vnto the riuer of *Cassipurogh* extendeth the Prouince of *Arricary*; containing the Signiories⁶ of *Arrawary*, *Maicary*, and *Cooshebery*; of which *Anakyury* is principall, who by Nation is

Arrapoco a
branch of
Amazones.

Arrawary.

Maicary.

Anaky-v-ry
chiefe of the
Yaïos.

¹ See pp. 71, 73.

² This is the first indication that Harcourt is addressing Prince Charles—possibly it had just occurred to him to make his narrative up to this point a sort of introduction to a more detailed “discourse”: he starts off on a new line just afterwards.

³ The western boundary here given is too wide, though it possibly represented the geographical ideas of that day. See Introduction, p. 4 *supra*.

⁴ The principal names are inserted on map C.

⁵ See note, p. 70.

⁶ See Introduction, ch. II, sec. II.

a *Yaio*, and fled from the borders of *Orenoque* for feare of the Spaniards, to whom hee is a mortall enemy. Hee hath seated himselfe in the Prouince of *Arriquiry*, and now dwelleth at *Morooga* in the Signiory of *Maicari*. To the N. Norwest of which, there falleth into the Sea a riuer called *Conawini*, wherevpon the Signiory of *Cooshebery* bordereth; whereof an Indian named *Leonard Rapago* is Chiefe, vnder the subiection of *Anaki-v-ry*. This Indian is christened, and hath been heretofore in England with Sr. *Walter Raleigh*¹, to whom hee beareth great affection; hee can a little vnderstand and speake our language, and loueth our Nation with all his heart. During my aboad at *Wiapoco*, hauing intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certaine stones were found therein, supposed to bee Diamonds: I sent my Cozen Captaine *Fisher* to discover the same, and to fetch some of those stones, to bee resolu'd of the truth.

At his comming thither, *Leonard* entertained him with all kindnesse, not after the ordinary rude manner of the Indians, but in more ciuill fashon, and with much respect and loue, hee furnished him with guides to conduct him through the Country to the place where the Stones were found, being fifty miles Southward vp into the Land: beyond which place there is an high Mountaine appearing in sight, called *Cowob*², and on

A Mountaine
called *Cowob*.

¹ It is interesting to compare Raleigh's reference to this incident in his diary of his last journey to Guiana (B.M. Cotton MSS. B. VIII. 153; Hak. Soc. vol. III, App.): "The 11th of November we made the North Cape of Wiapoco...I sent in my skiff to enquire for my old sarvant Leonard the Indien who liue with me in England 3 or 4 yeare—the same man that took Mr Harcourt's brother and 50 of his men when they came uppon that coast and were in extreame distress having...[no] meanes to live there but by the help of this Indien, whom they made believe that they were my men." This seems to be a reference to difficulties which arose during the three years after Harcourt's return. Raleigh's jibe may be correct, or it may be only a flash of temper.

² This mountain, *Cowob*, is probably *Canop-i*, though the distance is great. The existence of mountain lakes with fish in them is noted elsewhere, e.g. Hortsman's *Diary* (see Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVI, p. 174). "Fifty miles southward up into the land" means 150 miles from base: see just below.

the top thereof (as the Indians report) a great Lake or Poole, full of excellent fish of diuers kindes. The Country was as pleasant and delightfull, as euer any man beheld; but the Stones not *Diamonds*: yet they were *Topases*¹, which being well cut, and set in Gold by a cunning workman, doe make as faire a shew, and giue as good a lustre as any *Diamond* whatfoeuer: which yeeld good hopes of better to be found hereafter: For where the *Topas* is found on the Mountaines of *Tenasserim*², in the East Indies, the greatest store of *Diamonds* are also found.

Topases in Cooshebery.

When my kinsman returned, Captaine *Leonard* came with him to *Wiapoco*, (being aboue an hundred miles from his owne Country) only to visite mee and my company; for the great loue hee did beare to S^r. *Walter Raleigh*, and our Nation. I much maruelled to see him, for assuredly hee is the brauest Indian of all those parts.

After hee had been with mee a day or two, hee earnestly requested mee to send some of my company into his Country, which hee greatly commended for the wholsome ayre, and plenty of victuals, alleaging that the place where then wee liued (by his owne experience) was very vnhealthfull; that our men would there bee subiect to sicknesse, and die: and for an instance hee named Captaine *Lee*³, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all dyed by sicknesse in the same place: But hee assured me that his owne Country *Cooshebery* was of a good ayre, pleasant, and healthfull; that there they might haue roome sufficient to build English houses in, (for those were the words hee vsed) that thither they should be welcome and should want nothing. Much hee perswaded to draw

¹ The topaz is said to be like a diamond when pure and cut as a brilliant. The best come from Brazil. Though Tenasserim is specially referred to here, it is said now to occur only occasionally in Burma. But the term is sometimes applied to yellow corundum (*Enc. Brit.* 11th ed. vol. xxvii, p. 48).

² Tenasserim is now a division of Lower Burma.

³ See p. 75. Cf. Introduction, p. 5.

The quality
of the
Prouince of
Cooshebery.

mee to his desire, which by his importunity I granted, and accordingly performed it; finding his Country answerable to his report; being for the most part champion¹ ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitfull meadowes, and goodly woods², in such admirable order, as if they had been planted artificially by handy³ labour⁴. The fields appearing about the meadowes in pleasant and delightful manner, presenting here and there vnto the eye, from stately Mounts, most beautifull and liuely prospects: the meadowes bordering on euery side betweene the fields and woods, the woods growing in the lowest valleyes betwixt the meadowes, and commonly are watered with sweete and pleasant fresh streames running through them: which strange & rare mixture of Mounts, valleies, meadowes, fields, and woods, afford as excellent and healthfull habitations as can bee wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

*Arracoory &
Morownia*

From the riuer of *Cassipurogh* N. Westward to the riuer of *Arracow*, and vp further into the land towards the West, and Southwest, as farre as the riuer of *Arwy*, (which falleth into *Wiapoco* about the ouerfalles) extend the Prouinces of *Arracoory*, and *Morownia*⁵, which also to the landward (by the relation of my Brother Captaine *Michael Harcourt*, and Captaine *Haruey*, who haue trauelled and discovered those parts⁶) are pleasant and delightfull plaine Countries, like vnto *Cooshebery*. The *Arracoory* Countrey is well peopled, and their chiefe Captaine is called *Ipero*. Betwixt the *Wiapocoories* and *Arracoories*⁷ there is no hearty loue and friendship, yet

¹ "Champion," apparently a misprint or miswriting for "champain" = plain level country, "campagna": but see again p. 164 *infra*.

² For this description cf. Sir W. Raleigh (Hak. Soc. ser. I, vol. III, p. 98). Compare *infra*, p. 93 *ad fin.*, and Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 199, 224.

³ Manual, done by hand. Obsolete in this sense; for other instances see *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁴ The full stop after "labour" is an error, or carelessness in writing. The sentence labours a little in any case.

⁵ "Morownia" is evidently an effort to get at some native name: possibly some river. It is too far to the east to connect with Marrawini.

⁶ See pp. 110-113.

⁷ See Introduction, p. 23.

in outward shew they hold good quarter¹. In *Morrownia*, there is also store of people, which are friendly Indians. In that Prouince there is a very high Hill called *Callipuny*, fashioned like a Sugarloafe, or a *Pyramides*², which ouervieweth and discouereth all the Territories adjoining about an hundred miles.

An exceeding high Hill called *Callipuny*.

Beyond the Country of *Morrownia* to the Southward bordering the riuer of *Arwy*, is the Prouince of *Norrak*³; the people thereof are Charibes, and enemies both to the *Morrowinnes* the inhabitants of *Morrownia*, and to the *Wiapocoories*; who are also vnder the subiection of *Anaky-v-ry*, the Principall and greatest Lord, or *Cassique* of all the *Yaios* in those Prouinces, bordering vpon the Sea betwixt the *Amazones*, South-eastward, and *Dessequebe* North-westward⁴.

Norrak.

Anaki-v-ry.

From the riuer of *Amazones* to the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea these riuers following: *Arrapoco* (a branch of *Amazones*) *Arrawary*, *Micary*, *Conawini*, and *Cassipurogh*: In the Bay of *Wiapoco* to the East of the said riuer, there falleth into the Sea the riuer of *Arracow*; and into *Arracow* falleth the riuer of *Watts*. To the North of *Wiapoco* there is a smal creeke called *Wianary*⁵, which letteth in the Sea a daies iorney Westward vp into the land: some take this creeke to bee a riuer, but they doe erre in that opinion, it hauing neither spring nor fountaine from whence it falleth⁵. To the North, and N. west of the said creeke, there is a ridge of high

Riuers falling into the Sea betweene *Amazones* and *Wiapoco*.

Wianary a creeke.

¹ An interesting phrase which through the meanings "a part or division of a town," and the protection of that part, comes to mean "a [good or bad] state of affairs." See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. 14 c, d, e. Here "hold good quarter" means "maintain a good or peaceable attitude."

² These hills shaped like Pyramids are not uncommon in Guiana, and the idea of a Pyramid had a fascination for the earlier explorers. See *Storm van 's Gravesande* (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVI, pp. 77-78 and note).

³ See Introduction, p. 20.

⁴ This gives a very extensive overlordship to Anakiury, and appears to put him in the same category as Ajuricaba and Mahanarva: see *Storm* (*ibid.* pp. 25 n., 109 n.). The words "who are also" are not quite clear; they should (see p. 75) be constructed with the names just preceding.

⁵ Modern surveys appear to make Wianari a river.

The Province of *Wiapocoory*. Mountains running towards the river of *Apurwaca*, the soile whereof is excellent & fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the Sugar-canes there growing the best and fairest that are found vpon the Coast: and all the tract of Land betwixt the rivers of *Wiapoco*, and *Apurwaca*, is accounted the Prouince of *Wiapocoory*, containing the Signiories of *Wiapoco*, and *Wianary*. Beneath¹ the ouerfalles in *Wiapoco*, (which are forty miles distant from the Sea) there is much people, both of *Yaios*, and *Arwaccas*: of the *Yaios* in this river *Carasana*² is chiefe. Of the *Arwaccas*, *Arriquona*. *Arriquona* is Principall. In *Wianary* there are few Indians, and *Casurino* is their chieftaine.

Rivers falling into the Sea, to the N. West of *Wiapoco*. To the N. west of the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea the rivers of *Apurwaca*, *Cowo*, *Wio*, and *Caiane*. *Apurwaca* is a goodly river, and well inhabited; *Cowo* is void of inhabitants; *Wio* is a faire river and leadeth many daies iourney into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopefull Countrey. At *Caiane*³ there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captaine *Lawrence Keymis* was called *Port Howard*: On the Starboord side as you enter this harbour there is an Island of low land called *Muccumbro*, situate betwixt the rivers of *Caiane* and *Meccoria*, containing in circuit about sixteene leagues. In this Island there are two Hills, the one called *Muccumbro*, whereof the Island taketh the name; the other called *Cillicedemo*: from these Hills the greatest part of the Island may be overviewed, which containeth many goodly pastures, and meadowes intermixt with some woods, and is full of Deere, both red and fallow⁴.

Muccumbro
an Island.

¹ We should say "below": but he may really mean "beyond."

² Cf. pp. 71 *ad fin.* and 77 *supra*.

³ Cf. p. 116 *infra*. Raleigh in the journal of his last voyage shews that he made use of the excellent anchorage at Cayenne (Schomburgk, *Hak. Soc.* vol. III, p. 200 and cf. *ibid.* p. 198 n.). Keymis stayed there in 1596. For a modern description see *S. American Pilot*.

⁴ It is not unnatural that Harcourt should transfer the familiar names of our English deer to those he saw in Guiana. Rich. Schomburgk

On the Larboord side, as you enter *Caiane* there is another Island of high Land, called *Mattoory* in quantity¹ much like vnto the first; this Island for the commodious² scituation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable conuenient places for the planting of Ordinance³ for that purpose, as no industry of art could deuise better, or more available⁴.

Mattoory an Island.

The inhabitants of this Prouince of *Caiane*, are *Charibes*, their principall commander is called *Arrawicary*, who dwelleth at *Cillicedemo* before mentioned: we haue found him trusty and faithfull to our Nation; but to our friend *Leoanard* of *Cooshebery*, hee is a mortall enemy. At this mans house I left foure or fve of my company⁵, thereby to hold amity and friendshippe with the Charibes, to learne their language, and to keepe peace betweene them and the *Taios*, *Arwaccas*, and other nations their allies.

Arrawicary chiefe Captaine of the Caiane.

Foure or fve men placed at Caiane.

To the South-westward of these Prouinces aboue mentioned towards the high land, there bee many others which hereafter shall bee more exactly discribed by a second discouery.

These Prouinces and Signiories to the Landward are not plentifully inhabited; the greatest numbers of people, are seated neere vnto the riuers, and trauell from place to place in *Canoes*. There is no settled gouernement amongst them, onely they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obey as far as they please. In euery

The manner of their gouernement.

(vol. II, p. 42) refers to "*cervus rufus*" and its "white spotted young." It is not our "red deer," but this thoroughly explains Harcourt, who would readily mistake the white spotted young for the fallow deer. Both the Schomburgks remark on the abundance of deer even in the nineteenth century. Rich. Schomb. vol. II, p. 123.

¹ "Quantity" = size: its original meaning, and up to about 1680. Now obsolete. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

² "Commodious" for "convenient" is archaic. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

³ "Ordinance" was the original form; so used up to the 17th century. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁴ The passage is involved and curious but sufficiently clear.

⁵ Doubtless he did this on his way home from Wiapoco. Cf. p. 116.

Prouince or Signiory there is a Chiefe Cassique, or Capitaine, commanding all: So likewise in euerie Towne and Village¹, they commonly chastice murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them, and certaine persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments. The Indians take wiues ouer whom they are extreemly iealous, and expect great continencie in them; for if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their braines to be beaten out. The better sort of persons haue euerie one of them two or three wiues, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wiues, the greatest man. Their wiues (especially the elder sort) are as seruants vnto them, for they make their bread and drinke, dresse their meate, serue them at meales, and doe all the other businesse about the house.

Murder and
Adultery
punished by
death.

The Indians
by nature
iealous ouer
their wiues.

The Indians
haue manie
wiues.

Diuers lan-
guages in
Guiana:
The *Charibes*
most ancient
vpon the sea
coast.

The Indians
make warre
for their
weomen.

These Prouinces are peopled with diuers Nations of feuerall languages, namely, *Yaios*, *Arwaccas*, *Sappaaios*, *Paragotos*, and *Charibes*². The *Charibes* are the ancient inhabitants, and the other Nations are such as haue beene chased away from *Trinidado*, and the borders of *Orenoque*. And forasmuch as they haue vnited themselves in those parts, the *Charibes* haue held them in continuall warres, but the *Yaios* and the other Nations their Allyes, are growne so strong, that they haue constrained the *Charibes* of the Sea coast to contract a peace with them, yet beare no hearty loue the one Nation to the other: But with the *Charibes* inhabiting the in-land parts vpon the Mountaines, they haue as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe vpon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their weomen, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them:

¹ The period should evidently come after "Village." The next idea commences with the account of their customs. Those who wish to compare this account with later studies of the Guiana tribes should read Rich. Schomburgk, e.g. vol. 11, p. 260; Brett and im Thurn (*op. cit.* p. 20 n.): also Roth's monograph (*Bur. of Am. Ethnology*, 1915).

² See Introduction, pp. 21 *seqq.*

whereof our men haue seene experience in *Cooshebery*; where happened an accident worth the obseruing, which I will here declare vnto your Highnesse. The Indian *Leonard Ragapo*, before mentioned, is a *Yaio*, who finding the Country of *Cooshebery* slenderly inhabited, hath seized vpon it for his owne Signiorie; and at his earnest request, I sent foure Gentlemen of my company to remaine there with him. The naturall inhabitants that dwell vpon the vttermoſt bounds thereof, towards the South, and West, are *Charibes*, and enemies to him, and to his Nation: for while our men (vnknowne to the *Charibes*) staid at *Cooshebery*, they assembled themselves together to the number of 200. or more, and came downe into his Signiorie, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, tooke many prisoners, & intended to assault him also: which to preuent he armed about 50. of his Indians, with their vsuall weapons; which are Bowes and Arrowes, long stauess¹ sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened: wooden Swords and Targets² very artificially made of wood, and painted with Beasts, and Birds; He requested also our men to aide and assist him with their muskets, which I commanded them to doe³, vpon all such occasions offered: And so being all in readinesse, *Leonard* (as their captain) led them on to intercept his enemies; and as I haue heard by Mr. *Henry Baldwin*⁴, (who then was present, and (to obserue the manner of their warres)

The *Charibes* warre vpon *Leonard*.

The vsuall weapons of the Indians.

Leonard desireth aid of the English.

¹ "Long staves etc." might be read as descriptive of the arrows, although most of the Carib arrows now used have shafts made of reeds with various heads for different purposes. But the passage just below, "two men with sharpned stauess, instead of pikes," seems to make it clear that a kind of spear is meant. Nowadays the British Guiana Indian at any rate seems to dispense with it. Sir E. im Thurn states that he has "no knowledge of spears ever having been used" (*letter* to Editor).

² Swords and shields are not often seen now. Rich. Schomburgk (vol. 1, p. 150, § 525) refers to "the Haha a sort of shield" amongst the Warraus. Cf. im Thurn (*op. cit.* p. 327).

³ Compare his speech to the Indians at the first palaver (see text, pp. 75 and 77). He is carrying out his original idea.

⁴ No later mention of him hitherto traced.

The manner
of ordering
their men in
the warres.

gaue him leaue to command all) hee brauely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great iudgement and resolution. For in the Front, he first placed our foure Englishmen, by two in a rancke; next to them, two Indians armed with wooden Swords and Targets; then two archers; and after them two men with sharpned staues, instead of pikes: and in like manner ordered, and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, he marched against the Charibs, who (neer at hand) were coming in the same order towards him; but when they approached, & (vnexpected) perceived our English men amongst the *Yaios*, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand: which *Leonard* perceiuing, guessed rightly at the cause, and instantly did make good vse of that aduantage. Hee commanded his owne company to keepe their Station, himselfe with a sword in his hand (which I had giuen him) and a Target of his owne fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captaines. And hauing called them out, hee reprov'd them for coming (as enemies) into his Signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses, and his people; hee demaunded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken; and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and desist from warre: which if they refused to fulfill, hee was there ready with his friends the Englishmen to fight with them, and reuenge his wrongs: and said further, that if in the conflict any of the English men were slaine, or hurt; hee would then fetch all the rest from *Wiapoco*, and returne to burne their houses, and cut them all in peeces. Thus he boldly spake, with such a courage, shewing also our men vnto them, (who had their match in cocke¹ ready to discharge) that he strooke such a feare into them all, by reason of our mens presence, that they presently agreed to peace, performed what con-

The *Charibes*
amazed at the
sight of the
English.

Leonard
speaketh to
the *Charibes*.

The *Charibes*
agree to peace
for feare of
the English.

¹ "Match in cocke" is easy to understand from our later familiar expression, but not so easy to derive. The expression is apparently uncommon. This passage is quoted in the *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

ditions he required, and then departed home with all their company. Here may your Highnesse note, the factions among the Indian Nations; the discipline and order they hold in war, the feare the *Charibes* conceiued at the sight of our Englishmen, and the policy of the Indian *Leonard* to take aduantage by their feare, and make our men his Guard, and chiefe protection against them. These things in time will much auaille vs, being well obserued, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse.

The power and strength of these Countries (being so thinly peopled,) is not very great to withstand the might of forraine enemies; the vsuall weapons of the Indians, are before described, sauing that their arrowes are oft-times poisoned¹. But since our trade and commerce with them, they haue gotten a few good swords, muskets, caliuers², and some small quantity of shot and powder; and haue learned to handle their peeces very orderly, and some of them are good shot.

The seasons of the yeere vpon this coast³, and in this climate are diuers, for in the East parts of *Guiana* towards the *Amazones*, the dry weather, which we call their Summer, beginneth in August; and the violent raines and tempestuous winds, which we account their winter, doe begin in February: But in the Westerne

*The season of
the yeere in
Guiana.
The summer
beginneth in
August.
The winter
beginneth in
February.*

¹ The poison used by the Indians of Guiana has been an object of interest since the time of the early navigators. Raleigh appears to have been the first to note its terrors. A. von Humboldt gave the earliest account of its preparation. A detailed discussion of the Urari or Wurali plant, its habitat and its deadly application will be found in Richard Schomburgk's *Travels in British Guiana* (Roth's translation, Georgetown, British Guiana, vol. 1, pp. 345-60).

² "Caliver" = calibre, is a very light musket or harquebus, without a rest. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

³ See p. 78. Harcourt arrived in the middle of the rains. Most books on Guiana give the facts as to the climate and there are now also Government reports which can be consulted for the various colonies, or Brazil. The quaint but interesting speculations which follow are borrowed, as the author indicates, from Acosta (see note, p. 57): the caution at the end of the paragraph shews that he read with care.

The burning
Zone.

parts, towards *Orenoque*, the dry season beginneth in October, and the raines and windes in Aprill. There is little difference of heate and cold in this diuersity of seasons beeing so neere the *Equinoctiall*, where the day and night are alwaies equall, the sunne euer rising and setting at fix of the clocke or neere thereabout: which climat by the ancient Philosophers (in respect of the neerenes of the Sunne, which causeth excessive drowth and heate) was accounted the vnhabitable and burning *Zone*: but our dayly experience doth assure vs of their certaine mistaking in that point: for in those parts wee finde, that when the Sunne declineth furthest from them towards the *Tropicke* of *Capricorne*, the ayre is then cleereft, and the season of the yeare most dry; as in the Easterne parts of *Guiana* in August, September, October, Nouember and December: and when the Sunne returneth towards the *Tropicke* of *Cancer*, then doe the raines begin, increase, and decrease, from February to Iuly: but sometimes they begin to fall, and the riuers to rise, swell, and ouerflow sooner or later by a moneth; and the yeare is sometimes more or lesse windie and wet, according to the disposition of the heauens, and of the Planets: and as the Sunne approacheth, or declineth little, or much, euen so the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moisture.

Ioseph Acoſta.

The reasons of these strange diuersities from other regions without the *Tropickes*, are very excellently declared by *Ioseph Acoſta* in the second book of his natural & morall history of the Indies, to which Author I refer you for your better satisfaction therein: but withall I must aduertise you, that when you reade his first and second bookes, you haue regard to the place where they were writtē, which was in *Peru*, reputed by vs to be beyond the Equinoctiall, towards the South, or Pole *Antarticke*, lest you erre by mistaking his meaning: for in those two bookes, when hee mentioneth any place beyond the Equinoctiall, hee meaneth towards the North, or Pole *Articke*. And also you must note that this

generall rule for the heauens temprature, is only limited to the Region of the burning *Zone*, within the *Tropicques*.

They haue no diuifion or account of times or numbers; they onely reckon by the Moones, as one, two, three, foure, or fue Moones: or by daies in like manner¹. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to tenne: then they say tenne and one, ten and two, tenne and three, &c. And to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold vp one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expreffing the numbers, still making signes as they speake, the better to declare their meaning: when they will reckon twenty, they will hold downe both their hands to their feete, shewing all their fingers and toes, and as the number is greater, so will they double the signe. When they appoint or promise any thing to bee done by a time limited, they will deliuer a little bundle of sticks equall to the number of daies, or Moones, that they appoint, and will themfelues keepe another bundle of the like number: and to obserue their appointed time, they will euery day, or Moone take away a sticke, and when they haue taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly performe their promise².

Their account of times and numbers

As touching Religion, they haue none amongst them, that I could perceiue, more then a certaine obseruance of the Sunne and Moone, supposing them to bee aliue, but vse no religious worshippe towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing: vnlesse they vse a superstition in their drinking feasts, by sacrificing Iarres of drinke: for at the death of any of their *Cassiques*, Captaines, or great friends whom they esteeme, they will make a

They vse no sacrifice, nor religious worship to anithing.

¹ The transition back to the Indians is abrupt, and the first sentence seems self-contradictory. Yet Rich. Schomburgk (vol. 1, p. 135) has very much the same account of the computations in use amongst the Warraus. A calculation by months without any further limitations is certainly very indeterminate. See also Rich. Schomburgk on the Macusis (vol. II, p. 260).

² Precisely this practice not elsewhere traced; but similar ones noted.

The manner of their drinking feast at the death of their Captaines. solempne feast¹, (their chiefeft prouision being of their best and strongest drinke, which they call *Parranow*²) which feast shall continue three or foure daies, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively: in which vice they exceede all other nations whatsoever, accounting him that will bee drunke first, the brauest fellow; during this solemnity of their drinking, some woman being neereft of kin vnto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extreame; thus their manner is vntill their drinke bee spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they vse any superstition in this custome I know not; time will reueale, and also reforme it. It is most certaine that their *Peeaios*³, (as they call them) Priests, or South-sayers, at some speciall times haue conference with the diuell, (the common deceiuer of mankinde) whom they call *Wattipa*⁴, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they feare, and hate him much, and say that hee is nought: and not without great reason, for hee will often times (to their great terror) beate them blacke and blew⁵. They beleeue that the good Indians when they die, goe vp, and will point towards the heauens, which they call *Caupo*; and that the bad Indians goe downe, pointing

Their *Peeaios* or Priests haue conference with the diuell.

Their opinion of the dead.

¹ The description recalls the Irish wake. Compare with it Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 1st ed. bk ix, cap. 3, p. 703 (not the same in later editions).

² For "parranow" see p. 94 *infra ad fin.* and note.

³ "Peeaios." "Piainan" is the modern form of this term. "Piatsong" or "Paché" also given by Rich. Schomburgk (*Travels*, vol. 1, p. 131) = sorcerer and doctor, "the second important personage of every village after the chieftain." Rich. Schomburgk in the passage cited gives a very full account of the piainan. Cf. also im Thurn, *Amongst the Indians, etc.* p. 19.

⁴ So far no other instance of this word has been found, except in *Ven. App.* vol. 1, p. 21: "He had spoken with a spirit Wattopa, etc." (date 1597, Cabeliau's Journal). Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* clearly cites it from Harcourt. The Arawak term is Yawahu (Jawaho of Storm's despatches, Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvii, p. 501), the Warrau name Hebu: see Roth's note on Rich. Schomburgk, vol. 1, p. 131.

⁵ Compare Rich. Schomburgk, vol. 1, p. 135 *ad fin.*

to the earth, which they call *Soy*. when any *Cassique*, Captaine, or chiefe man dieth amongst them, if hee haue a slaue or prifoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he haue none fuch, then wil they kill one of his other feruants, that hee may haue one to attend him in the other world.

At the death of a *Cassique*, they kill an Indian to ferue him in the other world.

The quallity of the land in thofe Countries, is of diuers kindes, by the Sea fide the land is low, where the heate would bee moft vehement, if it were not quallified and tempered by a fresh Eaſterly winde or Breeze¹, moſt forcibly blowing in the heate of the day: in many places this low land is very vnhealthfull, and little inhabited, by reaſon of the ouerflowing of the waters: but for the moſt part it hath goodly nauigable riuers, a fertile foile, much people, and is a healthfull habitation. Vpon the Mountaines there is a high land, where the ayre is coldeſt, in ſome places it is fruitfull, in others not: but generally is full of Mineralls², and mines of mettals, and yeeldeth as many as any part eyther of the Eaſt, or Weſt Indies, both of the beſt, and of the baſeſt, whereof we ſhall (by Gods permiſſion) giue good teſtimony, to the benefit of our Countrey, and honour of our Nation in time conuenient: and in moſt places vpon the Mountaines there is found and healthfull dwelling. There is alſo a middle fort of land³, which is of a meane height, and is moſt temperate, healthfull, firtil, and moſt inhabited of all other; it aboundeth in meadowes, paſtures, and pleaſant ſtreames of freſh water, in goodly woods, and moſt delightfull

The quality of the Land.

¹ The morning breeze off the ſea is one of the delights of the tropics bordering on the ocean—regularly yet ſuddenly it comes, ruſtling the curtains, blowing off papers, and bringing with it a rare ſenſe of relief and comfort.

² The ground for this very confident aſſertion hardly appears in the *Relation*. As a matter of fact there are parts of Guiana which have turned out rich in the precious metals. Probably the Indians had more warrant than at firſt appeared for their belief in them.

³ The ſavannas or uplands of Guiana (*e.g.* thoſe beyond the Rupununi in Britiſh Guiana) have a delightful climate.

plaines, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation: and also is not void of Minerals.

The provisions for victuals. The roote of *Cassai* maketh their bread and drinke.

The provisions of this countrey for victuals, are many; First of the roote of a tree called *Cassai*, they make their bread, in manner following; they grate the roote vpon a stone, and presse out the iuice thereof, which being rawe is poyson, but boyled with *Guinea* pepper, whereof they haue abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholsome sawce, then they drie the grated roote, and bake it vpon a stone, as wee bake our Oaten cakes in England. This bread is very excellent, much like, but far better then our great Oaten cakes, a finger thicke, which are vsed in the Moorlands, and the *Peake* in Staffordshire and Darbyshire¹.

Maix, or *Guinea* wheat. There is a kinde of great wheat called *Maix*², of some it is called *Guinea* wheat, which graine is a singular provision in those Countries, and yeeldeth admirable increase, euen a thousand or fiftene hundred for one, and many times much more: It maketh excellent meale, or flower for bread; and very good malte for beere or ale, and serueth well for sundry other necessary vses for the reliefe of man. Of the aforesaid *Cassai* bread, and this wheat the Indians make drinke³, which they call *Passiaw*: it will not keep long, but must bee spent within foure or fise daies: they make another kinde of drinke of *Cassai*, called *Parranow*, very good and strong, much like vnto our best March⁴ beere in

Their diuers kinds of drinke.

An excellent drinke made of *Cassai*.

¹ A very good description of the Cassava cakes which are really delicious. See note on p. 76 *supra*.

² Maize or Indian corn is well known, and the Indian meal is to this day one of the most useful foods in the West Indies and indeed in places trading with them. "Guinea wheat" is the old name. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

³ The intoxicant made from Cassava is usually known as Pawiari; probably, though the metathesis is difficult, Passiau is another form, partly mistaken in pronunciation. Sir Everard im Thurn has declared that it is often almost impossible to determine how to transliterate Indian words. As to the drinks made from Cassava and Maize, see Rich. Schomb. vol. 1, p. 134, also pp. 156-7.

⁴ A regular phrase for strong beer some generations back. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. "March."

England, and that kinde of drinke will keepe ten daies; many forts they haue which I haue tasted, some strong, some small, some thicke, some thinne, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the *Taios*, and *Arwaccas*, which are the cleanliest people of all those Nations.

There is great store of hony¹ in the Country, and although it bee wilde (being taken out of trees, and buries in the earth) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drinke much vsed in Wales, called meath². The hony and the waxe, are also good commodities for marchandise.

Store of hony

There be no Vines³ in that country, but the Soyle being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yeeld good Sackes, and Canary wines⁴, which in those parts we finde to be very wholesome.

The soile excellent for Vines.

Many other necessary prouisions sufficient for the sustenance of man, do there abound in plenty: Namely, Deere of all forts⁵, wilde Swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kinds, the one small, by the Indians called *Pockiero*⁶, which hath the nauile in the backe; the other is called *Paingo*⁶, and is as faire and large as any we haue in England. There be store of Hares, and

Sundry kinds of beasts in Guiana.

Swine which haue the nauile in the backe.

¹ For honey in British Guiana see Rich. Schomb. vol. 11, pp. 81-2.

² *I.e.* mead, metheglin, though use in Wales is not noted in *Oxf. Dict.*

³ Not the grape vine, but amongst the climbing plants which make a tangle of the Guiana forest there are several species of vine.

⁴ Harcourt was wrong as to the suitability of the soil to the grape vine, though right as to the wholesomeness of sacke and Canary wines. Sack (from *vin* sec) was ultimately used of a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁵ For the abundance of deer in Guiana see Rich. Schomb. vol. 11, p. 16 (§ 42), p. 43 (§ 105), p. 123 (§ 302). Compare note on pp. 84-5.

⁶ "Pockiero" is of course Peccary (Pekari), the best known of the South American bush-hogs, also called Kairuni by the Indians: it has a "peculiar dorsal gland which secretes a strong offensive-smelling fluid" (Rich. Schomb. vol. 11, p. 74); this is the "nauile in the backe." The Peccary is in science *Dicotyles labiatus*. The larger species is *D. torquatus* and presumably this is the Paingo. With Paingo compare Painka in Rich. Schomb. vol. 11, p. 77, though it is not clearly differentiated there. Rich. Schomb. vol. 11, p. 130 is interesting on the subject.

Conies¹, but of a kinde farre differing from ours: There be Tigers², Leopards, Ounces, Armadils³, & Maipuries⁴ which are in taste like beefe, and will take salt: Baremoes or Ant-Bear⁵, which taste like Mutton, and other small beasts⁶ of the same taste, coloured like a fawne, Elks⁷, Monkies, and Marmosites of diuers sorts, both great and small: of these beasts there be innumerable, and by experience wee haue found them all good meate⁸. Many other kinds of beasts there are of fundrie and strange shapes, which heereafter shall bee figured in their true proportion according to the life with their names annexed.

Great variety
of Fowles

Of Fowles⁹ there be diuers kinds; namely, Wild-

¹ These are the Agouti, a kind of cavy. "The common species (*Dasyprocta agouti*) is an animal of the size and appearance of a hare" (*Oxf. Dict. s.v.*). Brett (p. 20) likens the labba to a hare. Cf. Rich. Schomb. I, sec. 418.

² What Harcourt actually had in mind in distinguishing "Tigers, Leopards, Ounces" it is not easy to say. The tiger and leopard are not found in America, nor is the ounce, but the jaguar has been compared in ferocity to the tiger (see Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom*), and it might easily be mistaken by the ignorant for a leopard. The puma or cougar is generally likened to a lion, but possibly he is the tiger of this passage. In the sixteenth century any small animal of the cat tribe was called an ounce, and several species of wild cat are brought from Central and South America. On Hondius' Map of Guiana there is a picture of a striped "Tigre" which was doubtless accepted from Raleigh as gospel.

³ "Armadil" is of course the armadillo, a well-known South American mammal (*Dasypus*), of which there are several species (see Rich. Schomb. vol. II, p. 393). Raleigh in his journal of his last voyage records the pleasure and relief when he was ill of going ashore and eating pork and armadillo (Hak. Soc. vol. III, p. 200).

⁴ "Maipuri" is the regular Indian name for tapir. See Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 131-2 for a good account of a hunt and the disposal of the welcome flesh.

⁵ The name "Baremo" for "Ant-bear" is unknown to im Thurn and others.

⁶ The "other small beasts...coloured like a fawne" have been difficult to identify: almost certainly the white-spotted young of the tapir.

⁷ Elks do not occur in South America, and it is doubtful what Harcourt has in his mind, especially as he does not couple them with deer.

⁸ This includes the monkey. See what Richard Schomburgk says on the monkey and his feeling about eating it, vol. I, sec. 788, II, sec. 182.

⁹ Here again Harcourt applies to Guiana the names of wildfowl

ducks, Widgins, Teales, Wild-geefe, Herons of diuers colours, Cranes, Storks, Pheafants, Partridges, Doues, Stock-doues, Black-birds, Curlewes, Godwits, Wood-cockes, Snits¹, Parrats of fundry forts; many other kinds of great and small birds of rare colours; besides great rauenuous fowles; and Hawkes of euery kinde².

Of Fish³ the variety is great, first of Sea-fish, there is Sea-breame, Mullet, Soale, Scate, Thorneback, the Sword-fish, Sturghion, Seale, a fish like vnto a Salmon⁴, but as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobstars, and Oyfters⁵ which hang vpon the branches of trees: There is a rare fish called Cassoorwa⁶, which hath in each eye two sights, and as it swimmeth it beareth the lower sights within the water, and the other aboue: the ribbes and backe of this fish refemble those parts of a man, hauing the ribbes round and the backe

Diuers kinds of fish.

Oyfters hang vpon trees. A fish hauing 4. eyes, and the ribs, and backe like a man,

familiar to him in Oxfordshire. There are numbers of duck in Guiana (see Rich. Schomb. vol. i, p. 83, vol. ii, p. 3 (§ 6) and p. 22 (§ 57)), but of different species from those of Europe. So with the other birds: e.g. pheasants and partridges, as we know them, are not to be found in Guiana. For the birds of Guiana see the careful work *De Vogels van Guyana*, by F. P. and A. P. Penaard Paramaribo, 1910.

¹ "Snit" is for "snite" a dialectic form of "snipe"—*Oxf. Dict.* s.v. Rich. Schomb. i, p. 83 refers to snipe.

² Richard Schomburgk mentions falcons (e.g. vol. i, pp. 308-9; ii, p. 290) on several occasions. Cf. Rodway, "fine hawks are common," *op. cit.* p. 241.

³ For the fish of Guiana see a useful little monograph by Hargreaves, 1904. Also papers by Rodway and Aiken in *Timehri*, ser. iii, vol. iii, and many passages in Richard Schomburgk. Harcourt is very fairly correct in his enumeration as far as it goes. Compare generally with this passage the observations of Major Scott: "The rivers and lakes of Guiana are stored with thirty distinct species of fish that are very good for food; their woods with the buffloe elke and severall sorts of deere," etc. (*Ven. App.* i, p. 169).

⁴ Doubtless the biara (*Hydroliscus scomberoides*) which "has been compared to a salmon" (Rodway and Aiken, *op. cit.* p. 43).

⁵ The mangrove oyster is well known in the West Indies. It was also specially noticed by Raleigh (Hak. Soc. ser. i, vol. iii, p. 3) and others.

⁶ The anableps or "four-eyes" is very common—it appears in shoals: there is a local prejudice against it as a gross feeder, but it is salted like a pilchard. See Rodway and Aiken (*op. cit.* p. 47).

flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger then a Smelt, but farre exceeding it for dainty meate; and many other sorts there be most excellent. Of fresh-water fish many kinds vnknownen in these parts, but all exceeding good and dainty: And I dare be bold to say, that this Country may compare with any other of the world, for the great variety of excellent fish both of the Sea, and fresh waters. There is also a Sea-fish¹ which vsually commeth into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteem amongst vs, and we account it halfe flesh, for the bloud of it is warme; it commeth vp into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth vpon grasse and weeds: the Indians name it *Coiumero*, and the Spaniards *Manati*, but we call it the Sea-cow; in taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serue to victuall ships, as in our knowledge hath beene proued by our Countrimen: Of this fish may be made an excellent oyle for many purposes; the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh; the hide (as I haue heard) will make good buffe²: and being dried in the Sunne, and kept from wet, will serue for Targets and Armour against the Indian arrowes: In the wet season the store of them are infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into England, by Sr. *Walter Rawleigh*.

The Sea-cow
like beefe.

Sundry kinds
of fruits.

Pina.

The feuerall kindes of fruits are many, the Pina, Platana³, Potato⁴, Medler⁵, Plummes of diuers sorts, and Nuts of strange kindes. The excellency of the Pina I cannot expresse, for I dare boldly affirme that the

¹ *Manatus americanus*, also called sea-cow: it is common on the coast, but it is also found far inland, e.g. upon the Rio Branco (see Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 110-11). It is of course not a fish but a mammal.

² Buff, from buffalo—wild ox—*bubalus*, leather made of oxhide; a leather with a characteristic fuzzy surface; a stout leather used for military coats, etc. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. which refers to this passage.

³ The Plantain is a well-known fruit (or vegetable) in the West Indies: but probably the nearly related Banana is intended here.

⁴ Not the Potato familiar to us but the "Sweet potato" (a convolvulus).

⁵ "Medler," probably the Sapodilla, "which like the medlar is not fit to eat until it is very soft and appears rotten" (Rodway's *Guiana*, p. 259).

world affordeth not a more delicate fruit: In taste it is like Strawberries, Claret-wine and Sugar¹. The Platana is also a very good fruite, and tasteth like an old Pippin. The Potato is well knowen. The Medler exceedeth in greatnesse. The Plummes I cannot commend, for to eate much of them doth cause Fluxes, which in those Countries are daungerous. The Nuts are good being moderately eaten. Hauing thus (most excellent Prince) declared the feuerall sorts of prouisions for victuals and necessary foods, it remaineth that I now make mention of the variety of commodities found in the Country for the trade of Marchandise, which in few yeeres, by our paines and industry, may be brought to perfection, and so settled in those parts, that not only the vndertakers may receiue reward for their indeuours, but our country also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

Platana.

Potato.
Medler.
Plummes.

Nuts.

The first and principall commodity of estimation, are the Sugar-canes², whereof in those parts there is great plenty; the soile is as fertile for them as in any other part of the world: They doe there grow to great bignesse in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting conuenient workes for the boyling and making of Sugers, (which at the first will require some charge & expence) may be yeerely returned great benefit and wealth: the long experience of the Portugals, and Spaniards, in *Brazil*, and the Islands of the Canaries; and of the Moores in *Barbary*, may giue vs certaine assurance, and full satisfaction thereof.

The variety
of commodities.
Sugar canes.

The Cotton wooll³ is a generall commodity, beneficiall to our Marchants, and profitable to our Countrey, by

Cotton woll.

¹ A very interesting effort to describe the taste of the pine: it is not less interesting to remember that nowadays we mark certain varieties of strawberries as of "pine" flavour.

² The value of the sugar cane was very early realised. It soon became the object of the early settlers to cultivate and manufacture sugar. Compare the last note on p. 64 *supra*. See also the Dutch view, *Storm* (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVI, pp. 258-9).

³ *I.e.* "raw cotton"—not quite our modern expression.

Natural hemp
or flaxe. making of fustians, and seruing for bumbast¹, and other vses: for making of *Hamaccas*², which are the Indian beds most necessary in those parts, and also of a fine cotten cloath for cloathing of the people. There is a naturall Hemp or Flaxe of great vse, almost as fine as filke as it may bee vsed; wee haue now found out the best vse of it; and for making of linnen cloath it is most excellent.

Diuers com-
modities for
Diers.
Annoto. There bee many rare and singular commodities for Diers³, of which fort there is a red Berry called *Annoto*⁴, which being rightly prepared by the Indians, dyeth a perfect and fure Orange tawny in filke; it hath been sold in *Holland* for twelue shillings starling⁵ the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berry that dyeth blew⁶. There is also a gumme of a tree, whereof I haue seene experience, that in cloath dyeth a fure and

A gumme
which dyeth
a yellow in
graine.

¹ "Bumbast," variant of "bombast," the soft down of the cotton plant, raw cotton, cotton wool, so a material used for stuffing, thence what is padded and overfilled. *Oxf. Dict.* It is doubtless the result of the strong first syllable and the association of "bomb" that makes many people regard the word as equal to noisy boasting and vainglory.

² The hammocks which come from British Guiana even now are wonderfully beautiful and very strong: the best are made of a strong hempen cord, which is probably what Harcourt next mentions. For them and the weaving of the Indian women, see Schomburgk's note, *Hak. Soc.* III, p. 40.

³ The trade in dyes and the attention paid to new sources is a feature of the records of this period.

⁴ "Annoto," more usually "annotto," said to be a variant of "anatta" (*Oxf. Dict.*), is an orange red dye made from a waxy pulp surrounding the seeds of *Bixa Orellana*. Robert Schomburgk (*Hak. Soc.* ser. I, vol. III, p. 113 n.) calls it Roucou, Arnotto or Terra Orellana. If it be the case that it is used for colouring cheese that might be one explanation of the great importance attached to the trade by the Dutch. See Rich. Schomb. vol. I, p. 193.

⁵ One of many forms in which our present-day "sterling" has appeared. The origin of the word is very doubtful. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

⁶ It is not easy to identify all these dyes exactly. General perusal of Richard Schomburgk's and other works opens up points which require close examination. Logwood gives a purple-red dye, fustic a yellow dye. These are well-known articles of commerce to-day, but whether they are what Harcourt intends it is not safe to assert: possibly this by "diligent labour...in time will be...found."

perfect yellow in graine. There bee leaues of certaine trees, which beeing rightly prepared, doe dye a deepe red. There is also a wood which dieth a purple, and is of a good price; and another that dieth yellow. There is yet another wood which dieth a purple when the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor is cold. Many other notable things there are (no doubt) not yet knowne vnto vs, which by our diligent labour and obseruation in time will bee discovered and found.

The sweet gummes¹ of inestimable value & strange operation in Phisick & Chirurgery, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber², Gumma-Lemnia³, Colliman⁴, or Carriman, Barratta⁵, and many more which I omit. The Colliman hath been proued by M^r. *Walter Cary* of *Wickham* in Buckinghamshire, (a Gentleman of great iudgement and practise in Phisicke)⁶ to bee of special regard for many purposes: this gumme is black and brittle, much like in shew to common pitch; if you put a little of it vpon burning coles, it filleth all the roome with a most sweete and pleasant fauour. He further reporteth of it, that certainly if you hold your head ouer the fume thereof three, or foure times a day, it

Sweete
Gummes.

The vertues
of Colliman
or Carriman.

¹ For such gums see Sir R. Schomburgk in Hak. Soc. ser. III, vol. I, p. 21 n. See also Storm's summary (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVI, p. 263) and the notes on the passage in that volume.

² "Amber," originally "ambergis," is from a tree, only by confusion is it extended to fossil resin; it burns with an agreeable odour (*Oxf. Dict.*). It is also specific in certain complaints (Pomet, *Hist. of Drugs*, vol. II, bk IV, p. 156).

³ "Gumma Lemnia" is probably a slip for Gum elemi. Pomet, vol. I, bk VIII, p. 193.

⁴ "Colliman" is difficult to identify, but from the description it may be the gum of the tree which Storm (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVI, p. 265) calls mani: "the Indians get a sort of pitch which they call coximan." The *x* might even be a miswriting for *rr*. See *Treasury of Botany*, 1866, p. 757, for medicinal use.

⁵ "Barratta" = balata, now a great industry in British Guiana.

⁶ For Walter Cary, author of certain medical works before 1600, the Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians has been good enough to refer to Dr Barlow's paper on "Old English Herbals" in *Proceedings of Royal Society of Medicine*, 1913.

On the subject of Guiana drugs see Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 266 sq.

cureth the giddinesse of the head, and is also a most excellent comfort and remedy for a cold, moist, and rheumaticke braine: it is also good against the resolution¹ (or as the common sort call it) the dead Palsie, whereof the giddines of the head is often a messenger, and the fore-teller of that most pernicious grieve. It is also of great use for the paine that many weomen haue in the lower part of their backes: which is very common to such as haue had children: for remedy whereof, it is to bee melted in a pewter vessell with a gentle fire, then with a knife it must bee spread lightly vpon a peece of leather, and laid warme to the place grieued, vntill it come of it selfe. This Plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinewes. Thus much hath Mr. Cary written and reported of it, and hath proued by his owne experience. This Gumme is also approued to bee an excellent remedy against the Goute; and of singular vertue in the cure of wounds.

The Colli-
man helpeth
the gout.

Barratta a
rare Balsamum.

The Barratta is a most soueraigne Balsamum farre excelling all others yet knowen: which by the same Gentlemans experience is of admirable operation in the cure of greene wounds: and being burned vpon coales, is of a sweete and odoriferous fauour.

A perfume
like sweet
Margerome.

There be many other sweet Gummes of great use for Perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like vnto the sent of sweet Margerome², very pleasant and delectable.

Druggs and
simples for
phisicke.

For phisick there be also many excellent Druggs; namely, Spiknard³, Cassia-Fistula⁴, Sene⁵; and the earth

¹ "Resolution"—the *Oxf. Dict.* under this word, head 5, has "Relaxation or weakening of some organ or part of the body (now rare), 'A palsy doth come by resolution or else compression...' date 1547."

² This may be the Haiowa or Incense tree (Roth, *Animism and folklore*, glossary). Sweet marjoram (*Origanum majorana*) is not now so familiar as it was to our ancestors.

³ "Spiknard," *spica nardi*, *Nardostachys jatamansi*. The true spike-nard is from the Levant (*Oxf. Dict.* s.v.).

⁴ "Cassia." The curious may refer to notes on *Storm* (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvi, p. 264); they need not be repeated.

⁵ Senna.

yeeldeth Bole-Armoniacke¹, and Terra-Lemnia, all which are knowen vnto vs. There bee other Druggs and simples also of strange and rare vertue, in these parts vnknown; of which sort there is a little greene Apple, by the Indians called in their language the sleeping Apple²; which in operation is so violent, that one little bit thereof doth cause a man to sleep to death: the least drop of the iuice of it, will purge in vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proued by my Cosen *Vnton Fisher*, who first found it: for biting a little of it for a taste, and finding it to burne his mouth in some extremity, did sodainely spit it out againe, but some small quantity of the iuice (against his will) went downe into his stomack, which for two or three daies space did prouoke in him an extraordinary sleepinesse, and purged him with 60. seates. This Apple, for the purging vertue in so small a quantity, is like to be of good price, and great estimation in the Practise of Physicke; for the learned Physicians do well know how to correct the sleeping quality thereof wherein the danger resteth. There is a Berry in those parts very excellent against the bloody-fluxe, by the Indians it is called *Kellette*³. The iuice of the leafe called *uppee*³, cureth the wounds of the poisoned arrowes. The iuice of the leafe called *Icari*³, is good against the head-ache. Many other Druggs and simples are there found of singular properties both in Physicke and Chirurgery, which if they should be seuerally described according to their valew and vvorthinesse, would containe a large volume.

An apple which prouoketh sleepe to death.

A berry curing the bloody Fluxe. A leafe curing the wounds of the poisoned arrowes.

A leafe curing the head-ache.

Moreouer the Tree wherewith they take their

A wood that maketh fish drunke.

¹ "Bole armoniacke," an earth brought from Armenia, formerly used as an astringent and styptic. "Terra Lemnia" a fat viscid clay. See for both Pomert, *Hist. of Drugs*, vol. II, bk VI, pp. 186-7.

² Probably the Manchineal, of which Sir H. Colt (Harlowe, *op. cit.* Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. LVI, p. 68) says it is "a poisonous apple like a little crabbe in England."

³ "Kellette," "uppee," "icari," have not been traced or identified.

fish¹, is not a little to be esteemed, but chiefly the great goodnesse of God therein is highly to be praised and admired, who amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow vpon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and naturall helpe, for the present getting of their foode and sustenance. These Trees are commonly growing neere vnto the places of their habitation for their present vse: for when, at any time, they goe to fish, they take three or fowre little sticks of this tree, and bruise them vpon a stone, and then go into certaine small creekes by the Sea shore, which at a high water are vsually full of very good fish of diuers kinds, which come in with the tide; and there they wade vp and downe the water, and betweene their hands rub those smal bruised sticks therein, which are of such vertue, that they will cause the fish to turne vp their bellies, and lie still about the water for a certaine time: In which space they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their *Canoes*, and so with little labour returne home sufficiently provided.

There is also a red speckled wood² in that Country, called *Pira timinere*, which is worth 30 or 40. pounds a tunne: It is excellent for Ioyners worke; as Chaires, Stooles, Bed-steds, Presses, Cupboords, and for Wain-scot. There are diuers kinds of Stone of great vse, and

¹ Compare Charles Leigh's account (Purchas, iv, p. 1250). See Rich. Schomb. vol. 1, p. 272 (§ 781), who explains that the process depends on "for the Indians the very important *Lonchocarpus densiflorus* Benth., with the milky pungent root-juice of which these people stupefy the fish."

² The letter-wood (*letter-hout* of the Dutch) constantly mentioned in the early documents. In an excellent note on it Schomburgk explains (Hak. Soc. III, p. 198) that *timinere* is the native word for "painted," and that Aublet founded on these words the scientific name of the tree *Piratinera (guianensis)* now known apparently as *Brosimum Aubletii*. It has never been much used for joiners' work, being very hard to work and hardly large enough (see Rich. Schomb. vol. 1, § 918), but it makes a favourite and costly walking-stick.

good price, as Iasper, Purphery, and the Spleene-stone¹.

There is yet another profitable commodity to be reaped in *Guiana*, and that is by Tobacco², which albeit some dislike, yet the generality of men in this kingdome doth with great affection entertaine it. It is not only in request in this our Country of *England* but also in *Ireland*, the *Neatherlands*, in all the Easterly Countries, and *Germany*; and most of all amongst the Turks, and in *Barbary*. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereby is infinite, and the Kings rent³ for the custome thereof is not a little. The Tobacco that was brought into this kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth 60. thousand pounds: And since that time the store that yeerly hath come in, was little lesse. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made vp fit for the Merchant in short time, and with easie labour. But when we first arriued in those parts, wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which now of late wee happily haue learned of the Spaniards themselves, whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to proue, within few moneths, (as others also of sound iudgement, and great experience doe hold opinion) that onely this commodity Tobacco, (so much sought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefit and profit to the vndertakers, as euer the Spaniards gained by the best and richest Siluer myne in all their Indies, considering the charge of both.

Tobacco.

The things which the Indians desire from vs by way of trade in exchange for the aboue named commodities,

The commodities most esteemed by the Indians.

¹ "Spleene-stone," thought to be specific in certain disorders. The *Oxf. Dict.* quotes Raleigh and this passage.

² For tobacco in Guiana see Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 75 and 188 *ad fin.* With the import of 1610, valued at £60,000, compare the imports of 1910 valued at £4,624,782.

³ "Rent" in this passage is simply revenue or income: the word used to have more varied significance than now. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

(whereby we hold society¹ and commerce with them) are Axes, Hatchets, Bil-hookes kniues, all kinde of Edge tooles, Nailles, great Fishhookes, Harping-irons², Iewes Trumps, looking-glasses, blew, and white Beades, Chrifall Beades, Hats, Pinnes, Needles, Salt, Shirts, Bands, linnen and wollen Cloathes, Swords, Muskets, Calliwers³, Powder, and Shot: but of these last mentioned, wee are very sparing, and part not with many, vnlesse vpon great occasion, by way of guift to speciall persons.

For these toies, and such like trifeling things the Indians will sell vnto you any of the aboue mentioned commodities that can be gotten or prepared by them; or any thing they haue, or that their Countrey yeeldeth; and will performe any reasonable labour for them. Thus haue I deliuered vnto your Highnesse, the particulars of the feuerall commodities, which hitherto we haue discovered, and found likely to bee profitable in *Guiana*; (whereof examples are remayning to bee seene in the hands of Mr. *Henry Houenaer*⁴ a Dutch-man, who in the yeere of our Lord 1610. performed a voiage to *Guiana*, to the places where our Company was seated, and now abideth in Thames-streete, neere vnto Coleharbour: and I make no doubt, that by continuance of time, our painefull trauels, and diligent obseruations, wee shall discover and get knowledge of an infinite number of others, as rich, necessary, and beneficiall as these already spoken of, or any other whatsoeuer: if it please Almighty God to fauour and blesse our proceedings.

When the raines ceased, which was in Iuly, I began to trauaell abroad in search of those Golden⁵ Moun-

¹ "Society," here in an older sense, = association with one's fellow men. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

² "Harping-iron" (*harper* O. French, to grasp), is either a harpoon or a grappling iron. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. ³ See note on p. 89.

⁴ No further particulars of Hovenaer have been found either in London or at the Hague. Cf. Mr Lul, p. 121.

⁵ Apparently some Indian or previous voyager had started the story. The incident is comparable with the effort of Raleigh and Keymis in 1617—the same hope, the same complete disappointment.

taines, promised vnto vs before the beginning of our voiage, (by one that vndertooke to guide vs to them) which filled my company so full of vaine expectation, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and couetous mindes (being wholly set thereon) could not bee satisfied with any thing but oenly Gold. Our guide that vainely made those great promises, being come vnto the wished place to make performance, was then possessed with a shamelesse spirit of ignorance, for hee knew little, and could performe nothing. What other intelligences (of Mines already found) I had from other men in England, and from the Mr. of my ship, who had bin heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false, and nothing true concerning Mines, that was in England reported vnto me.

Our greedy desire of Gold being thus made frustrate, diuers vnconstant persons of my vnruely company began to murmur, to bee discontented, to kindle discords and discensions, and to stirre vp mutiny, euen almost to the confusion and ruine of vs all: and were vpon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, & vnity, and wilfully to breake out into all mischeefe & wretched disorder, onely because they were deceiued of their golden hopes & expectations: but with good words, and comfortable perswasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceiued of the commodities aboue mentioned. I perswaded them in generall from idlenesse, to trauell abroad, to search and seeke out amongst the Indians what other nouelties they could (though gold were wanting) whereby wee might hereafter benefit our selues; and still I employed them some one way, and some another, to occupie their mindes by doing something, the better to preuent discention, which commonly is bred of idlenesse, the slouthfull¹ mother of all filthy vices.

Disorders by
mutiny.

As I daily conuersed amongst the Indians, it chanced

¹ "Slouthfull" was the common form, now obsolete. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

one day, that one of them presented mee with a halfe Moone¹ of mettall, which held somwhat more then a third part Gold, the rest Copper: another also gaue mee a little Image of the same mettall; and of an other I bought a plate of the same (which hee called a spread Eagle²) for an Axe. All which things they assured mee were made in the high Countrey of *Guiana*, which they said did abound with Images of Gold, by them called *Carrecoory*³. These things I shewed to my company to fettle their troubled mindes, which gaue much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied vs all that there was Gold in *Guiana*. Shortly after that my Indian *Anthony Canabre*, brought mee a peece of a rocke, of white Sparre, whereof the high Countrey is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which are the purest white of all others, (for euery sort of Mine hath a sparre, and for the most part white) bee in a maine rocke, they are certainly Mines of Gold, or Siluer, or of both. I made triall of a peece of Sparre, which the same Indian discovered vnto me, and I found that it held both Gold, and Siluer, which (although it was in small quantity) gaue mee satisfaction that there bee richer Mines in the Countrey to bee found: but the best lie deeper in the earth, and wee had not time nor power to make search for them⁴.

Being thus informed, and sufficiently resolu'd of the commodities of the Countrey, & well satisfied of the Minerals; I bent all my endeauours to finde out the fittest places, and most conuenient for our first planta-

The high
Countrey of
Guiana
aboundeth
with Images
of Gold.

The rocks of
the purest
white Sparre
are Mines of
gold or siluer.

¹ For the half Moon cf. Rich. Schomb. vol. 1, p. 247.

² "Spread eagle" is a curious translation of the Indian's idea!

³ Compare p. 183 *infra* and Schomburgk there cited. Wilson (Purchas, vol. iv, p. 1249) speaks of "naturall and fine gold which the Indians call Callicury."

⁴ This was the common experience of all the early adventurers: compare Raleigh's failure and the more systematic efforts made by Storm (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. xxvi, p. 226, etc. v. index). It was only in 1870 or thereabouts that really valuable mines were discovered near the regions which these men had endeavoured to probe.

tions: at the last I found out many, and some of speciall note, which are (for many respects) of great importance; and when time serueth, our forces and number of men being answerable, I will lay them open to the knowledge of the world: and for wealth I hope they shall fully answere all mens expectations.

I trauelled¹ vp the riuer of *Wiapoco*, to view the ouer-falles, but the waters being high and strong, I could not passe them. In August when they are fallen, with some labour they may bee passed. This riuer hath very many ouerfalles², lying one a good distance beyond another, euen to the head thereof. About some of the first falles there dwelleth an Indian, called *Comarian*, who is an old man of a free disposition; by him I learned that a certaine distance about the first falles, the riuer *Arwy* falleth into *Wiapoco*; moreover that certaine daies iourney beyond him towards the high land, vpon the borders of *Wiapoco*, there is a Natiō of Charibes hauing great eares of an extraordinary bignes³, hard to bee beleueed, whom hee called *Marasheuccas*: amongst these people (as *Comarian* reporteth) there is an Idole⁴ of stone, which they worship as their God; they haue placed it in a house

Many ouer-falles in *Wiapoco*.

People hauing great eares, who worship an Idoll of stone.

¹ An effort has been made on Map C to shew how far Harcourt went.

² This is true of most of the Guiana rivers, as soon is learned from perusal of travels in the interior. A vivid description of such perils is given by Rich. Schomb. vol. II, pp. 318 *seqq.*

³ Richard Schomburgk (vol. II, p. 262) has an interesting reference to this passage, apparently quoted through La Condamine. As several tribes have the habit of piercing and distending their ears by the use of great bits of wood, etc., it is easy to see how a legend of this sort arises. The Indians love a story and are prone to exaggerate all they hear. Schomburgk in the same section of his book has most interesting observations on this trait. Cf. the same vol., p. 309: p. 383 (§ 954) indicates how fact and imagination get mixed in Indian tales.

⁴ This story of an idol is remarkable, probably based on preconceived notions of the idols reported by the Spaniards from Peru and Mexico, or it may be the result of vague stories of the same brought by the Indians. It would be easy to read this idea into what the Indians were saying about some queer rock, a seat of their superstitions. Apparently amongst these Indians there is no trace of idol worship (Rich. Schomb. II, p. 254). Yet stone images have been found.

made of purpose for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and hanfome.

The proportion of the Idole.

This Idole is fashioned like a man sitting vpon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbowes vpon them, holding vp his hands with the palmes forwards, looking vpwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion¹ he could not declare, although he hath been many times amongst them, and hath often seene it. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, hauing neuer trauailed so farre, but hee sayth they be *Charibes*, and also enemies vnto them. It seemeth there bee many Nations of those great eared people²: for in the Riuer of *Marrawini* I heard also of the like, who dwell farre vp towards the high land, as hereafter you shall heare and I suppose, by the trending of the Riuers of *Wiapoco*, and *Marrawini*, are all one people.

Possession taken for the king at *Gomeribo*.

Vpon the 14. day of August I went vnto a Mountaine, called *Gomeribo*, being the vttermost point of land to the Northward in the bay of *Wiapoco*; I found the soile of it most excellēt for Tobacco, Maix, Cotton trees, Annoto trees, Vines, & for any other thing that should be planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then in the presence of Capt. *Fisher*, diuers Gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I tooke possession of the land, by turfe and twig, in the behalf of our Soueraigne Lord King *JAMES*: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the whole continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the riuers of *Amazones* and *Orenoque*, not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State³; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

In like manner my Brother Capt. *Michael Harecourt*, and Capt. *Haruey*, (whom I left as his associate, and hee

¹ Apparently = form or shape—sense 7 given to the word in the *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

² See footnote 3, p. 109.

³ See Introduction, p. 7: and place indicated on Map A (Tatton's).

esteemed as an inward friend,) in a notable iourney, which (to their great honour) they performed, to discover the Riuer of *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering vpon it, (neere adioining to the riuer of *Amazones*) did take the like possession of the land there, to his Maiesties vse¹.

The like possession taken at *Arrawary*.

The dangers and great difficulties which they in that attempt incountred, were memorabe², and such, as hardly any of our Nation in such small Canoes (being onely some-what longer, but not so broad as our *Thames* wherries, and flat bottomed,) euer ouercame the like. First the number of their owne attendants besides themselves, was onely one man, and a boy: Their troope of Indians 60. persons. Their iourney by Sea vnto the Riuer of *Arrawary* was neere 100.³ Leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadful plunges, by reason of a high going sea, which breaketh vpon the flats and shoales; especially, at the next great cape to the North of *Arrawary*, which, in respect of the danger they passed there, they named *Point Perilous*⁴. Then their discovery vp the riuer, was 50. leagues more: where they found a Nation of Indians, which neuer had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawne to any familiar commerce, or conuersation, no not so much as with our Indians⁵, because they were strangers to them, and of another Nation. The discovery of this riuer is of great importance⁶, and speciall note, affording an entrance more behouefull⁷ for the searching and discovery of the inland parts of *Guiana*, then any other riuer yet knowne vpon the Coast; for trending

Point Perillus.

¹ As indicated on Map A.

² Clearly a misprint.

³ The modern map gives a distance of 278 miles along the coast.

⁴ So it is marked on the Tatton map. But the name did not survive: it disappeared with the abortive settlement.

⁵ Not by any means an unusual occurrence. Schomburgk and others support this.

⁶ It is difficult to imagine why Harcourt speaks thus of the Arrawari. Apparently his brother gave enthusiastic accounts.

⁷ Or "behooveful"—extremely common up to 1700. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

Westward vp into the land, it discovereth all the Countries and Nations to the Southward of *Arricary*, *Cooſhebery*, *Morrownia*, and *Norrack*, which I haue mentioned before.

A great argument of plenty in the Country.

Many weekes they ſpent in this aduenture, ſtill taking vp their lodgings in the woods at night. Prouiſion of meate they wanted not, for Fiſh were euer plenty, and at hand: and the woods yeelded eyther Deere, Tigers¹, or Foule: their greateſt want was of bread and drinke, which onely defect did hinder (at that time) the accompliſhment of that diſcouery. For when the Indians perceiued their bread to bee neere ſpent, and their drinke to bee corrupted, they could not bee perſwaded to proceede, hauing no meanes to ſupply their wants amongſt the Arrawaries, the Indians of that riuer, who would not freely trade with them vpon this firſt acquaintance², but alwaies ſtood vpon their guard, on the other ſide of the riuer, where they inhabited: yet they deſiring to obtaine ſome of our Engliſh commodities, and make triall of our Indians friendſhippe, afforded ſome ſmall trade for their preſent releefe during their abode in that riuer: So that of force they were conſtrained to breake off their diſcouery, and haſten homeward.

A dangerous Boore at Carripapoory.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriuing at certaine Iſlands called *Carripoory*, and paſſing betweene them & the main land, much againſt the wils of all the Indians, who knowing the danger of the place, and more reſpecting their ſafety, then their owne, (being themſelues all expert ſwimmers) would haue diſſwaded them from that hazard: but they being ignorant of the perill, would needs paſſe onne, and at the laſt met with ſuch a Boore³ (as the Seamen

¹ A curious ſuggestion. What had the writer in his mind? Our uſual idea of the tiger is that the explorer may provide meat for him!

² See footnote 5, p. 111.

³ Apparently not what is ſtrictly known as a "bore," as there is no river at the point. The conflict of tides is deſcribed by Sir Robert Schomburgk in his Preface to Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery* (Hak. Soc. ſer. 1, vol. 111, pp. lxxiv-v). Yet *S. Am. Pil.* 1, p. 517, mentions a bore.

terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes comming in, which like two furious inrag'd Rammes, or Bulles, rushed together, and oft retired back, to returne againe with greater violence, vntill the one by force had ouerborne the other: that if next vnder God) the diligent care and paines of the Indians had not preserued thē, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed vp by that mercilesse Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safety.

Here may your Highnesse fitly note and obserue two things, the one, the assured loue and fidelity of the Indians to our Nation; who hauing in their power for six weekes space, foure only of our company, and two of those the chifest of the rest; and if they had been false & trecherously minded towards them, might easily haue drowned, starued, or slaine them; yet did not only forbear to practise harme against them, but did also safely rowe their boats; night by night prepare their lodgings in the woods, & daily vse their care and best endeauours to discouer and preuent all dangers that might happen to them, and to guide them, serue them, and provide them meate. Such trust and faithfulness is rarely found amongst such barbarous infidels, and yet wee haue had three yeeres experience thereof. The other thing to bee obserued heere, is the store and plenty of victuals in *Guiana*; where sixty foure^r persons together in one company, without any prouision of victuals (bread and drinke excepted) before hand made, could trauell abroad for six weekes space, most commonly lodging in the woods, seldome in any towne or village, and yet in all places wherefoeuer they came, could readily get meate sufficient for them all: which blessing God hath giuen to *Guiana*; for the comfort of all such as shall bee willing to bee planters there.

This, and much more could my Brother haue truely auouched, if hee had liued; but (since his returne into

Two speciall things to bee obserued.

The fidelity of the Indians

The plenty of victuals.

^r This number includes the Indian carriers and guides, see p. 111: Harcourt tells us (pp. 116-19) that he left only 26 behind altogether.

England) it hath pleased God, who gaue him life, and preferued him from many dangers, to take him to his mercy. But the other, Captaine *Haruey*¹, furuiueth, whose life hath euer suted with a generous and worthy spirit, professing Armes, and following the warres: who also is generally well knowne, to be a Gentleman, both honest, and of spotlesse reputation; hee will auerre and iustifie for truth, what heere is mentioned. But I will now returne from whence I haue digressed.

Gomeribo deli-
uered to an
Indian as the
Kings tenant.

When I had (as before) taken possession at *Gomeribo*, in presēce of the said parties, I deliuered the possession of that Mountaine to my Indiā *Anthony Canabre*², *To haue, hold, possesse, and enioy* the same, to him, and to his heires for euer, of our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames*, his Heires and Successors, as his subiect; *Teelding and paying* yeerely the tenth part of all Tobacco, Cotton wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter bee either planted or growing within the said Mountaine, if it were demanded. The Indian most gladly receiued the possession vpon these conditions, and for himselfe, and his posterity, did promise to bee true subiects vnto the Kings Maiestie: his heires, and successors: And to pay the duties imposed vpon them: and so that busines being finished, I returned againe to *Wiapoco*. .

The only
cause of
losse by the
Voyage.

Now (most worthy Prince) there came vnto my knowledge, an inconuenience happened by the carelesse negligence of the Master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to performe a businesse, which might haue proued profitable, and honourable vnto vs, if I had been able to haue staid the time, but it was not my chance to bee so fortunate: for the Master, his Mates, and the Steward of my Shippe,

¹ Harvey afterwards returned to Guiana: see Introduction, p. 10. ⁴

² See p. 110 *supra*, and see also App. I, p. 157 for the addition here in the 2nd ed. of the *Relation*.

came vnto mee, and told me plainly, that if I made any longer aboad in that Countrey, I would neuer in thofe Shippes returne into England: or if I did aduenture it, my felfe, and all my company would ftarue¹ at Sea for want of Beere, Syder², and water, for all my Caske was fpoiled, becaufe it was not Iron-bound; the wooden hoopes flew off, by reason of the heate of the Clymate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof wee had good ftore) did leake about the fhippe, that wee could hardly faue fufficient to releeeue vs, if wee made a longer ftay vpon the Coaft; which was the Mafters fault, hauing had a fpeciall charge to bee carefull of that onely³ poynt. By this default, I was conftained to make a vertue of neceffity, and prepare my felfe for England, and leaue my former purpofes to bee accomplifhed hereafter, which fhall bee done (God aiding mee) in time conuenient.

Then difpofing of my company, I appointed my Brother Captaine *Michael Harcourt* to remaine in the Countrey, as chiefe Commander in my abfence, and to continue the poffeffion on the Kings behalfe; I gaue him directions to trauell abroad, as (occafion ferued) to difcouer the Countrey, to fpend fome time at *Cooftbery*, and fome time alfo in other places; but to make his chiefeft refidence at *Wiapoco*, (the onely Rendeuous for fhippes that trade vpon that Coafte) and there to plant good ftore of Maix, for our reliefe of bread and drinke, which is the chiefeft thing to be refpected⁴ in thofe parts; for other victuals we need not take much care being alwaies eafily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, difcouered many goodly Prouinces, and fpacious Countries; and worthily continued the poffeffion full three yeeres compleat. I left with him for his affiftante, Captaine *Haruey*, aboue mentioned, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to

Cap^t. *Michael Harcourt* left commander of the company.

¹ See Introduction, p. 14 and note.

² Obsolete form of "cider."

³ Rare form.

⁴ Used in a fense now dropped in fauour of "regarded."

bee employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Mr. *Edward Gifford*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left also with him of Gentlemen and others, about twenty more, with all such necessaries as I could spare, and thought convenient for them: and so commending them to God the eighteenth day of August I departed from *Wiapoco*, and the day following arrived at *Caiane*.

At my coming to *Caiane* my Pinnesse received a leake, which would have proved dangerous, if we had been far at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the Pinnesse; and unwilling to be idle in the meanespace doing nothing, I left my shippes there to repair their defects, and in my ship-boate departed thence, the twenty three of August: taking with mee Captain *Fisher*, who hath ever been (since we first crept into the world) my chiefe companion, both in Armes and trauels; I tooke also with mee his brother *Vnion Fisher*, Mr. *Cradle* the Masters mate of my ship, and about six more. I followed the Coast to the Westward stering due West, and passing by the riuer of *Meccooria*¹, I lodged that night in the mouth of the riuer *Courwo*: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within affordeth a good harbour, which may in time to come (for some speciall purpose) be of great vse.

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Westward with full saile, and passing the riuers of *Manmanury*, *Sinammara*, *Oorassowini*, *Coonannonia*, *Vracco*, and *Amanna*; I arrived the twenty five day at the riuer of *Marrawini*, which openeth a faire riuer, but is shoale vpon the Barre, which lyeth two or three Leagues off at Sea, hauing but two fadome water: within the Barre, the Channel is three, foure, five, and six fadome deepe. Five leagues within the riuer we passed by certaine Islands called *Curewapor*, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are alwaies ouerflowen, of which

¹ For the rivers here mentioned see Map A, and p. 132 *infra*.

fort the riuer hath very many: wee lodged that night a litle beyond these first Islands at a village called *Moyemon*, on the lefthand, the Captaine thereof is called *Maperitaka*, of the Nation of the *Paragotos*, a man very louing and faithfull to our Nation, whereof wee haue had good prooffe. The next day wee proceeded vp the riuer three leagues, and stayed at a towne called *Coewynay* on the right hand, at the house of *Minapa*, (the chiefe Charib of that Signiory) to prouide two Canoes to profecute our iourney for the discouery of this riuer.

The twenty eight day wee went forward passing many villages and townes, which I forbear to name, and hauing gone about twenty leagues from the Sea, wee found the riuer in a manner barred vp with rocks, ouer which the water falleth with great violence, yet notwithstanding wee aduentured to proceed, and the further wee went, the more dangerous we found the ouerfalles, and more in number; but when we had passed the first Mountaine, towards the high Countrey of *Guiana*, called *Sapparow*¹, and discouered far off before vs other high Mountaines called *Matawere Moupanana*, and had proceeded 6. daies iourney vp the riuer (which was more thē forty leagues) we met with such shoale rocky streame, & great ouerfalles, that there to our grief our iourney ended.

Being thus for that time debarred from our intended discouery, wee prepared our selues with Patience to returne towards our shippes, and the third day of September wee turned downe the riuer, shooting the ouerfalles with more celerity then when wee came vp, dispatching three daies iourney in one, and the fifth day returned safe to *Moyemon*; but before I departed thence, Captaine *Fisher* told mee of certaine plants which hee had then found, much like vnto Rose-trees, growing about halfe a yard in height, whereof (for the strange-

They proceeded in discouery of *Marrawini*.

The riuer full of ouerfalles.

They went six daies iourney vp the riuer.

¹ This hill has not been identified. It is marked on Tatton's map on the left bank of the river—some later maps take it to the right bank.

ness of them) I cannot forbear to adde a word or two¹.

Trees which
had the sense
of feeling.

These plants or little trees had assuredly the sense of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them: for if you did but touch a leafe of the tree with your finger, that leafe would presently shrink, and close vp it selfe, and hang downe as if it were dead; and if you did cut off a leafe with a paire of cisers², then all the other leaues growing vpon the same tree would instantly shrink and close vp themselues, and hang downe as if they were dead and withered, and within halfe a quarter of an hower, would by degrees open themselues againe, and flourish as before; and as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would doe the like; which did evidently shew a restriction³ of the spirits, inuincibly arguing a Sense. Howsoever this may seeme strange and incredible to your Highnesse, and to them that haue not seene it, yet forasmuch as *Scaliger*, and *Bartas* make mention of the like, I dare bee bold to affirme it vpon my credit, hauing seene and shewed it to forty others: I gathered two of the plants, and did set them in pots in their owne earth, and carried them aboard my shippe, where I kept them fairely growing almost a fortnight, vntill they were destroyed by certaine Munkies⁴ that brake loose, and pulled them in peeces: which might haue been preuented, but that I was constrained to set them in the open ayre, the better to preferue them.

Scalliger, Exercit. 181.
sect. 28.
Bartas, Eden,
1. day, 2. week.

Viawia, a
Towne of 20
houses.

The feuenth day I went to *Wiawia*, a great towne of *Paragotos*, and *Yaios*, foure leagues to the West of *Marawini*, whereof *Maperitaka* aboue mentioned⁵, and *Arapawaka* are chiefe Captaines. At this towne I left my

¹ The sensitive plant (*Mimosa sensitiva*) is now too well known to require a note.

² This spelling (the natural form of a derivative from *caedo*) was displaced by that of "scissors" in the seventeenth century.

³ "Restriction," a curious but sufficiently obvious sense. See meaning in *Oxf. Dict.*

⁴ The sailors carried their pets from the earliest days.

⁵ Previous page *ad init.* Cf. App. II, pp. 162, 175.

Cozen *Vnton Fisher*, and *Humfrey Croxton* an Apothecary, to beare him company, and one seruant to attend him called *Christopher Fisher*, hauing first taken order with *Maperitaka* for their diet, and other necessaries, both for trauell, and otherwise: who euer since (according to his promise) hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithfull friend.

Mr. *Vnton Fisher* and two others left at *Wiawia*.

I gaue directions to my Cozen *Fisher* to prosecute the discouery of *Marrawini*, and the inland parts bordering vpon it, when the time of the yeere, and the waters better serued; and if it were possible to goe vp into the high Countrey of *Guiana*, and to finde out the City of *Manoa*, mentioned by St. *Walter Raleigh* in his discouery¹. He followed my directions to the vttermost of his ability, being of a good wit, and very industrious, and inabled to vndergoe those imployments, by obtaining the loue, and gaining the languages of the people, without which helps, there is little or no good to bee done in those parts.

When the waters of *Marrawini* were risen, and the riuer passable, (much differing from the riuer of *Wiapoco*, which is not to bee trauelled, but in the lowest waters.) He began his iourney for the discouery thereof, in company of the Apothecary, his seruant *Fisher*, the Indian *Maperitaka*, and eightene others, and proceeded eleauen daies iourney vp the riuer, to a towne of Charibes called *Taupuramune*, distant from the Sea aboue an hundred leagues; but was foure daies iourney short of *Moreshago*, which is also a towne of Charibes, scituate vpon the riuer side in the prouince of *Moreshgoro*: the chiefe Captaine thereof is called *Areminta*: who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his Territories, hauing a rough skin² like vnto Buffe

Mr. *Fisher* trauelled eleuen daies iourney vp the riuer of *Marra*, viz. 100 leagues.

The Prouince of *Moreshgoro*.

Indians with rough skins like Buffe.

¹ So much has been written on this subject that it will suffice to refer to im Thurn's *Amongst the Indians of Guiana*, p. 36, and to the note in *Storm* (Hak. Soc. ser. 11, vol. xxvi, pp. 182-4), which sums up the statements of Humboldt, the two Schomburgks and im Thurn.

² Evidently some disease, probably of a leprous character: cf. Rich. Schomb. 11, p. 57.

leather, of which kinde there bee many in those parts; and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmity of the body.

Hee vnderstood by relation of the Indians of *Taupuramune*, and also of *Areminta*, that six daies iourney beyond *Moreshego*, there are diuers mighty Nations of Indians¹, hauing holes through their eares, cheekes, nostrils, and nether lippes, which were called *Craweanna*, *Pawmeeanna*, *Quikeanna*, *Peewattere*, *Arameeso*, *Acawreanno*, *Acooreo*, *Tareepeanna*, *Corecorickado*, *Peeauuncado*, *Cocoanno*, *Ifura*, and *Waremisso*: and were of strength and stature far exceeding other Indians, hauing Bowes, and Arrowes foure times as bigge: what the Indians also report of the greatnesse of their eares, I forbear to mention, vntill by experience we shall discover the truth thereof. Moreouer hee learned that there fall into *Marrawini* diuers great riuers, called *Arrennee*, *Topanawin*, *Errewin*, *Cowomma*, *Poorakette*, *Arroua*, *Arretowenne*, *Waoune*, *Anape*, *Aunime*, and *Carapio*: whereof some he hath seene himselfe. That it was twenty daies iourney, from *Taupuramune*, to the head of *Marrawini*, which is inhabited by *Arwaccas*, *Sappaio*s, *Paragotos*, and some *Taios*: and that a daies iourney from thence to the land-ward the Countrey is plaine, and Champian ground, with long grasse. Hee passed in this iourney about eighty ouerfalles of water, and many of them very dangerous: of some of them I had experience the yeere before². Hee proceeded no further at that present, being vnprovided for so long a iourney, supposing that it had been neerer (then hee found it) to the head of the riuier by a fortnights trauell: and so returned backe in six daies space, intending better preparation for a second iourney: but his purpose was preuented by an vntimely death: for shortly after hee was drowned by misfortune; whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth.

¹ For all this passage see App. II (pp. 163 *sq. infra*), and notes.

² See p. 117 *supra*.

Diuers
mighty
Nations of
Indians far
vp in *Marrawini*, towards
the high land.

Riuers falling
into
Marrawini.

Twenty
daies iourney
from *Taupuramune* to the
head of
Marrawini.
The Countrey
about the
head of *Mar-*
is plaine, and
Champion
ground.

The tenth day of September being Sunday, I left the main of *Guiana*, and in my ship-boat stood off into the sea to seek my ships, which were forced to ride foure leagues from shoare, by reason of the shoales; but as wee passed ouer them, wee were in danger to bee cast away by the breach of a sea, which verily had funke our boat, if with great celerity we had not lightned her, by heauing ouerbord many baskets of bread, of Cassaui, Maix, Pinas, Platanas, Potatoes, and such like prouision, wherewith our boat was loaden; by which meanes it pleased God to deliuer vs from present destruction, and to bring vs safe vnto our ships.

The tenth of September they left *Guiana*.

They were in danger to be cast away.

When I came aboard, we weighed anchor, and steered away for the Island of *Trinidad*, and vpon the 18. day in the morning, we arriued at *Punta de Galea*, where wee found three English ships at anchor, which was no small comfort vnto vs, considering our great defects & wants. One of these shippes was called the *Diana*, belonging to Mr. *Lul* a Dutch^r merchant dwelling in *London*. The other two, the *Penelope*, and the *Indeuor*, belonging to Mr. *Hall*, a merchant also of *London*. We staid at this place 6. daies to mend our bad caske, and to take fresh water: during which time I was kindly intreated, & feasted by the Merchants, and had supply of al such things as I stood in need of; which curtesie I requited in the best manner I could for the present.

They finde three English shippes at *Pūta de Galea*

Vpon Sunday the twenty foure of September we weighed anchor, so likewise did the *Diana* (the other two shippes being gone two or three daies before vs,) but the wind shifting to the north-east, inforced vs backe againe almost to the same place from whence we departed. The twenty fve we weighed againe, and plied along the shoare towards *Cape Brea*², about three leagues. This *Cape* is so called of the *Pitch* which is there gotten

Pitch gotten in the earth, which melteth not with the Sunne.

¹ Compare Mr Hovenaer, p. 106.

² Still *La Brea*, the site of the celebrated Pitch Lake, for which see Kingsley's *At Last*, vol. 1, p. 271. The Trinidad Asphalte Co., which started the pitch on its career of commercial value, was formed in 1887.

in the earth, whereof there is such abundance, that all places on this side of the world may be stored therewith.

It is a most excellent Pitch for trimming of shippes that passe into these Regions and hot Countries, for it melteth not with the Sunne, as other Pitch doth.

The twenty six day wee stood along againe, the winde being still contrary and variable, intermixt with many calmes, & so continued vntill the second of October, when we arriued at *Port de Hispania*¹.

They arriue
at *Port de*
Hispania.
Don Sanches
de Mendosa
commeth
aboord their
shippe.

Within two daies after our arriuall there, *Don Sanches de Mendosa*, the Teniente for that yeare, with certaine other Spaniards came aboard vs²: we gaue them the best entertainment that our meanes, the time, and place would affoord, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the *Charibes*, wherein they had lost seuen or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof some came to my Chirurgion to haue their wounds dressed during our aboad there. And they plainly confessed that they are verie much molested³ by the *Charibes*, and knew not how by any meanes to suppress them.

The Spaniards much
molested by
the *Charibes*.

We staid at *Porte de Hispania* vntill the seuenth day, in hope to get some good Tobacco amongst the Spaniards, who daily fed vs with delaies and faire words, but in truth they had none good at that present for vs, which we perceiuing, departed thence vpon the 7. day, about one of the clocke in the morning, leauing the other ships to attend their trade, and stood away for the passages, called *Les sciet boccas de Drago*³, and disembogued about

They depart
from
Trinidado.

¹ Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad now as formerly, just within the Bocas on the north-west of the island, a good starting-point for the ocean voyage. But seven days to reach it along the shore! it shews what the sailing was: the little gulf steamer does it in a few hours.

² A contrast to some previous receptions, yet some twelve years before Raleigh had raided them. For the Caribs, see *Ven. App.* i, pp. 15 and 29 v.

³ Now briefly the Bocas. "Disembogued" means that they came through into the main ocean. The original text was corrupt and corrected by hand: for the form 'sciet' see document in Hak. Soc. III, pp. 129-30.

eight of the clocke the same morning. Then we steered away for an Island called *Meues*¹, and leauing the Islands of *Granado*, *Saint Vincent*, *Guadalupa*, and *Monferate*, in our starboord side², wee arriued there the twelfth day, where wee stopped to take in Ballast, and more water, for our shippes were very light.

They arrive
at *Meues*.

In this Island there is an hot Bath³, which as wel for the reports that I haue heard, as also for that I haue seen and found by experience, I doe hold for one of the best and most soueraigne in the world. I haue heard that diuers of our Nation haue there been cured of the Leprosie, and that one of the same persons now, or lately dwelt at *Wollwich* neere the riuer of *Thames*, by whom the truth may be knowne, if any man desire to bee further satisfied therein. As for my owne experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it worke both in my selfe, and others of my company in two daies space, doe caufe mee to conceiue the best of it. For at my comming thither, I was grieuouly vexed with an extreame cough, which I much feared would turne mee to great harme, but by bathing in the Bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured: and euer since that time, I haue found the state of my body (I giue God thanks for it) farre exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreouer, one of my company named *John Huntbatch* (seruant to my brother) as he was making a fire, burned his hand with Gunpowder, and

An excellent
hot Bath at
Meues.

An extreame
cough cured
by the Bath.

A mans hand
burned with
Gunpowder,

¹ *I.e.* Nevis. The persistence of the early form *Meues* or *Mevis* is against the theory of a derivation from snowy appearance. The island was at this time unappropriated.

² Quite right: they took a straight course inside what are now the Windward Islands.

³ Very interesting is this early reference to the hot spring. The passage is referred to by that painstaking and enthusiastic chronicler of the West Indies, the late Mr Darnell Davis, C.M.G., in an article on "Nevis as a West Indian Health Resort," *Timehri*, ser. II, vol. I, p. 285. When I was in the West Indies some years ago on a Royal Commission we visited the spring and rest-house and discussed the possibility of a proper hydropathic establishment. C. A. H.

and by the
Bath cured in
24 houres.

was in doubt¹ thereby to loose the vse of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunk v^p with the fire, but he went presently to the Bath, and washed, and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soopled² his fingers in such manner, that with great ease hee could stirre and stretch them out, and the fire was so washed out of his hand, that within the space of twenty foure houres, by twice or thrice washing and bathing it, the forenesse thereof was cured, onely the eye-sore for the time remained. Furthermore, two or three others of my company hauing swellings in their legges, were by the Bath cured in a day. This can I affirme, and boldly iustifie, hauing been an eie witnesse thereof.

Swellings in
the legges
cured in a
day.

They depart
from Meues.

Hence wee departed the sixteenth day of October, in the afternoone, and leauing the Islands of St. *Christopher*, St. *Martin*, and *Anguilla* on the Starboord side, wee dissembogued through the broken Islands on the North side of *Anguilla* vpon St. *Lukes* day, where I thinke neuer Englishmā dissembogued before vs³: for we found all our Sea-charts false concerning that place, those broken Islands being placed therein, to the Southward of *Anguilla*, betwene it and St. *Martins*, and wee found them scituat to the Northward thereof.

When wee had cleered our selues of the broken Islands, wee stood away North-East, shaping our course the neereft way wee could for *Flores*, and *Corues*, and so continued with faire weather, the winde still mending⁴ vpon vs, vntill the thirtieth day of October: about twelue of the clocke that day there began a storme, with contrarie winde, still variable⁵, which continued vntill

¹ "In doubt to lose" is an interesting variant for "in fear of losing."

² The use of this word as a verb is now obsolete. The form is noted by the *Oxf. Dict.* as a dialectic variant of 'supple.'

³ He evidently tried to keep inside the islands still, though he must have lengthened his course. By the broken islands he must mean the small islands, like Dog Island, which lie off Anguilla: he can hardly have gone as far as the Virgin Islands before turning east for the Azores.

⁴ *I.e.* improving, getting more favourable. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v. 2 *b*.

⁵ *I.e.* constantly varying.

4. the next day in the afternoone. In this storme wee lost the company of the Pinneffe in the night, but had sight of her againe vpon the fourth of Nouember late in the euening, and the next day shee came vp vnto vs, at two of the clocke in the afternoone. Then the winde came faire at West, and wee steered away East by North, and E.N. East among¹. The seauenth of Nouember I relieued the Pinneffe with more bread, and left her to follow after vs, not being able to keepe way with vs before the winde², which then blew strongly at West: for I was very vnwilling to loose the benefit of a speedy passage, which the cōtinuāce of that faire winde was like to afford vs. And so following our course, on the eleuenth day in the morning we had sight of *Fayal*, one of the Islands of the *Terceras*³, which we left on our starboord side, and steered away for England, the winde continuing faire vntill the twenty foure day. But then it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East south-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three daies space we were not able to beare out faile, but did driue before the winde at the least three leagues a watch, out of our course; and the first land wee made was *Cape Cleere* in the South-west part of Ireland, where against our wils we arriued at *Crooke Hauen* the twenty nine of Nouember⁴.

They left the Pinneffe to follow after them.

They fell with *Fayal*.

They are driue by a storme into Ireland.

Our arriuall there at that present, was happy for vs, considering our extreame wants, and great necessities; for of all our store, we had remaining but one hogshed of water, halfe a hogshed of beverage⁵ (all our beere

Their great necessitie and want.

¹ *I.e.* at intervals or from time to time. See the interesting notes on the use of the word as an adverb in *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

² Evidently she carried no square sail.

³ The *Terceras* or *Terceiras* are three islands of the Azores—a group within a group.

⁴ Crookhaven lies just west of Cape Clear. This makes just over six weeks from the West Indies. This brief summary of the run gives a picture of what the early navigators had to undergo.

⁵ "Beverage" in the west of England is used specially for water, cider, or small cider, and that is probably what it means here. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

being spent and wasted by leakage) fixe peeces of beefe, and three of Porke, which was all our prouision: we had neither fish, butter, oyle, cheese nor pease left to relieue vs, whereby we had fallen into a lamentable distresse, if almighty God had not in time brought vs vnto this harbour where we supplid our wants, by the helpe of Captaine *Reignolds* commander of his Maiesties Pinnesse called the *Moone*¹, whom we fortunately met there altogether vnexpected. But the winde continuig contrary at the East, and like to hold still in that corner, prefiged new wants to insue, if a speedy remedy were not provided. To preuent the worst, I resolved to goe by land to *Yoghall*², neere vnto which place remained some friends and acquaintance of mine, by whom I might prouide my selfe of meanes to defray my charge, vntill my returne into England: and therefore gaue commandement to the master of my shippe to wage a Pilot, and vpon the first shift of winde (if it fauoured him in any time) to bring the shippe about to *Yoghall*, where I ment to abide his comming, resolving thence to goe for *Bristol*. And I appointed (if the winde did hold against him) to send him mony to supplie their victuals, vntill it pleased God to alter it: but he regarding his owne priuate ends, more then my commaund and direction, vpon the first shift of wind went away with my shippe (without my knowledge) to *Dartmouth* in the west Country, and left me behind in *Ireland*: whereof as soone as I had intelligence, I presently tooke the oportunitie of a speedy passage in a barke then reddy bound for *Bristol*, and so the next morning being the fifteenth of December, I departed from *Yoghall*, and arriued at *Bristol*³ the seuententh day.

¹ The Librarian of the Admiralty kindly refers to mentions of the Moon in Mr Oppenheim's *Administration of the Royal Navy* (1509-1600), a work based on official records.

² *I.e.* Youghal—some 100 miles or so to the eastward, still in Cork.

³ It is hardly necessary to note that Bristol was the centre of all West India trade, not only at that time, but up till well into the nineteenth century. It also had and has now a regular and flourishing trade with Ireland.

My Pinnesse which we left at Sea to follow after vs, was likewise by the aforesaid storme driuen into the west of Ireland, to a place caled *Dingen le Coushe*¹: and there remained a long time wind-bound: but at the last (by Gods permission) arriued at *Bristol* the second day of February.

The Pinnesse first arriued in Ireland, and afterward at Bristol.

During the time of my voyage, we lost but one land-man, who died in *Guiana*: and one sailer, and an Indian boy, who died at Sea in our returne: and during the space of these three yeares last past since the voiage, of all the men which I left in the country, being in number about thirty, there died but fix, whereof one was drowned: another was an old man of threescore yeeres of age: and another tooke his death by his owne disorder; the rest died of sicknes, as pleased God the giuer of life: for which small losse, his holy name be blessed now and euer.

The number of those that died.

Hauiug thus (most noble Prince) declared the whole course of my voiage to *Guiana*, performed in the yeare of our Lord 1609. I hold it needefull for the better satisfaction of the fauourers, and wel-willers of this action, by adding of a speciall note or two, and by a briebe remembrance of some points mentioned in the former² discourse, to expresse the worthinesse of the enterprise, being of importance, and not to bee regarded lightly.

In euery forraigne action vndertaken by the subiects of a Christian Prince, they ought to haue especiall regard to three principall ends and designes. First, that it may bee for the glory of God: Secondly, for the honour of their Suueraigne: Thirdly, for the benefit and profit of their Countrey. Which three principall ends and intendements³, if they faithfully prosecute, and labour to

Three principall ends to be obserued in euery forraigne action.

¹ A puzzle! Doubtless Dingle is meant. Of suggestions for *Le Coushe* one is an attempt to give the Erse for "along the front."

² We should have expected "previously mentioned in this discourse": unless he refers to the Preface.

³ See note on p. 60.

aduance with constant resolution, they shall infallibly bring their vndertakings to a blessed, prosperous, and honorable end. And now if it shall appeare that this enterprise for discouery and plantation in *Guiana*, is chiefly grounded vpon these three designs; I hope there is not any man (bee hee neuer so malicious and full of enuy) that can with iust exceptions¹ scandalise it, or worthily contemne it.

1. The glory
of God.

First then for the glory of God, it hath been, and euer will bee held cleere and vnquestionable, that God cannot be more honored, nor his holy name by any meanes more glorified, then by the prosperous growth and happy increase of his Church, through the conuersion of those that bee heathen and barbarous Nations to the knowledge of him our true God, his Sonne Iesus Christ, and the holy Ghost, the blessed indiuiduall Trinity², and to the profession and practise of Christianity; which heauenly and euer memorable worke, may through Gods good blessing and assistance (without which (indeede) all our trauell³ therein, and all the labour of the world is but lost) bee easily effected and accomplished in *Guiana*: the people thereof being of a louing and tractable nature towards the English, whom they loue and preferre before all other strangers whatsoever⁴: and by whom (next vnder God) I verily hope, and am constantly perswaded, it will bee their blessed happe to bee freed from the seruitude of the diuell⁵, that now so tyrannizeth ouer them, and to bee led out of that infernall darkenesse wherein they liue, and bee drawn to Christianity: for they will come vnto vs (already) at time of

¹ The text has "expectations," altered in ink. In the second edition, the word is "exceptions," *i.e.* it adopts the alteration made in ms. in the first edition. Yet "expectations" accords much more with the idea of the sentence, and probably it was Harcourt's original phrase.

² An unfamiliar variation of the "Trinity in Unity," but the original meaning of the word is "one in substance or essence," and the phrase had a regular currency. See *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

³ Probably for "travail."

⁴ See note on p. 71 *supra*.

⁵ A regular obsolete form.

prayer, shew reuerence, and bee very attentue all the while, although they vnderstand nothing: they will bee content that wee baptize their children, and will after call them by the Christian names wee giue them, suffer vs to bring them vp, and in a sort acknowledge their ignorance, and shew a kinde of willingnes to be instructed & reformed.

As touching the second, by what meanes may our gracious Souraigne the Kings Maiestie doe God better seruice, and honour him more, or vnder him bee more honored, then by obtaining and gaining the Soueraignty of so many great, spacious, and goodly Countries and Territories, not yet actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian Prince or Sate¹ whatfoeuer²? which in that Region, by the timely and worthy vndertakings of his Subiects, (without bloodshed, and with the loue and affection of the people) may bee possessed, planted, and annexed to his Crowne, as the Nations and Countries beyond, by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, were annexed to the Crowne of *Spaine*, whereby, what honour and benefit the Spaniards haue gained, and to what a degree of greatnesse they are thereby growen, these parts of the world can witnesse, and wee for our parts haue had triall, and might haue had wofull experience of, if our God that alwaies tooke our parts, had not crossed their bloody designes, and put them to flight and confusion³.

2. The honour
of our
Soueraigne.

An. 1588.

And for the third, who can deny but that our Countrey by this worthy action may bee enriched, through diuers and fundrie commodities of great worth, in those parts dayly found, and easily obtained? which before are mentioned more at large, from page 31. to page 37⁴. and therefore needeles here to bee againe repeated.

The profit of
our Country.

¹ It is very curious that the omission of the letter in "State" is not corrected in the second edition: it suggests that in part that edition was printed from the same type.

² This qualification as to vacant possession was an accepted formula.

³ The date in the margin is the commentary—the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

⁴ The reference is to the pages of the first edition = pp. 98–105 *supra*.

And for their further satisfaction, and more encouragement in this enterprife, let them consider the nature and disposition of the climate in this Region of *Guiana*, which for healthfull and wholesome ayre, (some few places onely excepted)¹ I hold generally to bee inferiour to none other vnder Heauen: for notwithstanding it bee scituate vnder the Equinoctiall, by the ancient Philosophers called the burning *Zone*; yet such are the wonderfull workes of God for the benefit of man, that contrary to their opinion, wee finde by late experience, that those Regions which were in times past by them accounted vnhabitable, through extremity of droughth, and heate; are now found out to bee inhabited, temperate, and healthfull Countries, as plainly appeareth in diuers parts of the East and West Indies, and especially in this Countrey of *Guiana*, whereof I haue taken possession to his Maiesties vse, being plentifully inhabited by people of diuers Nations: the climate there, pleasant, and agreeable to our constitutions, and the soile fruitfull, as before hath been declared; affording as many admirable helpes towards the leading of an happy life, as any knowne part of the world³: for whatsoever is necessary for the reliefe of man: eyther for foode, Physicke, or Chirurgery, or for clothing and architecture, is here (by the prouidence and goodnesse of God the creator) in plentifull store euen naturally provided.

The burning
Zone habitu-
able².

The climate
pleasant,
fruitfull, and
healthfull

The loue of
the people
towards our
Nation

Moreouer the good inclination of the people towards our Nation, being willing to trade with vs, and become subiects to his Maiesty, our Soueraigne; their louing and gentle entertaining of vs, desiring to haue vs liue and abide amongst them; and their tractable conuersation with vs, not refusing to be instructed in Christianitie;

¹ See p. 81 *supra*.

² This is not a variant form—a simple misprint or miswriting.

³ Modern experience shews that Harcourt overdoes this eulogy of the climate near the equator: yet if applied to the Savannas, like those beyond the Rupununi in British Guiana, he is not so far out.

and coueting to imitate and learne any trade, or worke, that they see vsed or practised by our men: are no small motiues to perswade the prosecution of this action, and plantation in *Guiana*.

Furthermore, all younge Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others that liue at home in idlenesse, and want imployment, may here finde meanes to abandon and expell their slouthfull¹ humors, and cast off their fruitlesse and pernicious designes; and may worthily exercise their generous spirits in honourable trauels, and famous discoveries of many goodly and rich terretories, strange and vnknowne Nations; and a multitude of other rarities², hitherto vnseene, and vnheard off in these parts of the world: which may be thought incredible, but that our own experience, & the generall & constant report and affirmation of the Indians, doth assure vs thereof.

A good motive to those that want imployment.

And to conclude, we may by the gracious assistance of our good God, gaine vnto our Soueraigne the dominion of a rich and mightie Empire, which if it may bee once possessed by his Maiestie, and inhabited by his English Subiects, will absolutely be inuincible, to the vnspcakable honour & renown of our natiō in al after ages.

An Empire may be gained to our Soueraigne.

All these things respectiuely considered, what may be more required? to moue & induce all noble and worthy dispositions, louing honour, and honourable attempts; all Marchants desiring wealth & riches; & generally al the inhabitants of this Kingdome, freely to giue assistance towards the aduancement of this noble action, and plantation; so much tending to the glory of God; the honour of our Soueraigne, and the benefit of our Countrey.

¹ Regular obsolete form: see note p. 107.

² This form was pretty frequent in the early part of the seventeenth century. *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

¶ The names of the *Rivers* falling into the *Sea* from
Amazones, to *Dessequebe*, and of the severall Nations
inhabiting those *Rivers*.

RIVERS.		NATIONS.	RIVERS.		NATIONS.
1	<i>Amazones.</i>	} <i>Charibs.</i>	21	<i>Marrawini.</i>	} <i>Paragotos, Yaios, Cha- ribs, Arwac.</i>
2	<i>Arrapoco, a branch of</i>		22	<i>Amanna.</i>	
3	<i>Amazones.</i>		23	<i>Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of</i>	
4	<i>Maicary.</i>	} <i>Yaios and Charibs.</i>	24	<i>Selinama.</i>	} <i>Charibs.</i>
5	<i>Connawini.</i>		25	<i>Selinama, or Surennamo.</i>	
6	<i>Cassipurogh.</i>	} <i>Arracoories</i>	26	<i>Surammo.</i>	
7	<i>Arracow.</i>		27	<i>Coopannomy</i>	} <i>Arwaccas</i>
8	<i>Wiapoco.</i>	} <i>Yaios and Arwaccas.</i>	28	<i>Eneecare.</i>	
9	<i>Wianary, a creeke or in- let of the sea.</i>		29	<i>Coretine.</i>	
10	<i>Cowo, not inhabited.</i>	} <i>Charibs.</i>	30	<i>Berebisse.</i>	} <i>Arwaccas & Charibs.</i>
11	<i>Apurwacca.</i>		31	<i>Manhica.</i>	
12	<i>Wio.</i>		32	<i>Wapary.</i>	
13	<i>Caiane.</i>	} <i>Arwaccas.</i>	33	<i>Micowine.</i>	} <i>Charibs.</i>
14	<i>Meccooria.</i>		34	<i>Demeerare.</i>	
15	<i>Courwo.</i>		35	<i>Matooronnee</i>	
16	<i>Manmanury</i>	} <i>Arwaccas.</i>	36	<i>Quiowinne, braunches of Dessequebe.</i>	} <i>Arwaccas & Charibs.</i>
17	<i>Sinammara.</i>				
18	<i>Oorassowini, not inhabited.</i>				
19	<i>Coonannoma</i>				
20	<i>Vracco.</i>				

¶ See Map A and the comments at p. 18 *supra*. For the identification of these rivers see observations on p. 41 *supra*.



The Plantation in *Guiana* is most easie

to be performed, as is at large expressed in the former

TREATISE: *And may in briefe appeare by these
notes following, which are here added for the
better comfort and incouragement of the
ADVENTURERS and PLANTERS of
the meaner sort.*

First, the climate in *Guiana*, although it bee hot, yet is it habitable; and affordeth healthfull habitations: for in three yeeres space that my Brother Captaine *Michael Harcourt* and his company, remained in the Countrey, of thirty persons there died but six.

The nature of
the climate.
Page. 23.

The naturall inhabitants of that Countrey are a louing, tractable, and gentle people, affecting, and preferring the Englishmen before all other Nations whatsoever, and desiring commerce and conuersation with them: with those barbarous people we may liue in safety, without suspicion of trechery, or dread of danger; if wilfully wee offer them abuse, and harme issue, the fault is ours; for a worme being trodden on, will turne againe. If they at any time doe giue offence to vs, they will suffer and abide such moderate chastisements, as we in our discretions shall thinke fit to lay vpon them.

The disposition
of the
people.

The soile of the land there, as is said before, is exceeding rich, neuer yet broken vp, nor ouerworne with tillage, but still remaineth in the greatest perfection of fertility.

The quality
of the land.
Page 27.

The prouisions of that Countrey for victuals, are already mentioned before. But it is fit they bee againe remembred for the comfort of the ordinary people, that in person shall aduenture in this action. There are great store of Deere of all sorts; wilde Swine, Hares, and Conies; besides diuers other beasts vnknowne in these parts, Pheasants, Partridges, wilde foule of all sorts, and every house hath Cocks, Hennes, and Chickens, as in England; and the variety of Fish is wonderfull, without

The prouisions
of the
Countrey
page 27. 28.
30. and 31.

compare: but the chiefeſt comfort for our Countrey-men is this, that the beaſt called *Maypur*, and the fiſh called the Sea Cow (being ſeuerally as bigge as a Heifer of two yeres old, & of which kinde there are very many) are in eating ſo like vnto our Engliſh beefe, that hardly in taſt wee can diſtinguiſh them, and may as well as beefe bee ſalted, and kept for our prouiſion.

A beaſt and
a fiſh like
Beefe

A Beaſt like
Mutton.

There is alſo a beaſt in colour like a Fawne, but fuller of white ſpots; in ſtature ſomewhat leſſe then a ſmall ſheep, and in taſt like Mutton, but is rather better meate: the Baremo is alſo of the ſame taſte.

Theſe for the time will giue vs good content, vntill wee can bee ſtored with the breed of our Engliſh ſheepe and cattell¹.

Good bread.

The ſtore of Maix, or *Guinea* wheat in *Guiana*, is very plentifull, which graine doth make an excellent good bread, and very whoſome. So likewiſe doth the *Caffau*, whereof there is alſo great abundance; and much more may bee, as we pleaſe to plant.

Drinke like
March beere.

Of the *Caffau* bread, the Indians do make good drink, which in colour, taſte, and ſtrength, doth equall our March beere in England.

Excellent
ſtrong Ale.

Of the *Guinea* wheat, we may make good Malt, which alſo maketh as excellent ſtrong Ale as can bee poſſible.

Sacke, and
Canary wine.

The ſoile being rich, fruitfull, and neuer nipt with froſts doth giue vs hope that in few yeeres ſpace by planting vines, we ſhal make good ſtore of Sacke, and Canary wine, which in thoſe parts are needefull, and very whoſome, and will greatly comfort and lighten the hearts of our Countrey-men, and make them iouiall and couragious to vndertake and execute the greateſt labours, and moſt difficult aduentures of diſcouery.

The commodities of the
Country.
pag. 31, and
32.

The commodities already found in *Guiana*, are at large declared in the former diſcourſe; yet for the better memory of thoſe that are diſpoſed to aduenture in this

¹ This is Harcourt's firſt definite propoſal to introduce Engliſh breeds, which are not too eaſy to acclimatize.

action, I haue againe in briefe remembred them. First within a yeere without much labour, there may bee transported thence good store of Cotton wooll; diuers kinds of rich dies; fundrie sorts of gummes, drugges, and feathers; many kindes of rich woods: Iasper, and Purphery stone; Balsamum, waxe, hony, and Tobacco. And hereafter within few yeeres, wee shall returne thence great plenty of Sugers: and I hope discover as rich Mines, as euer the Spaniard found, eyther in new *Spaine*, *Peru*, or any other part of the Indies¹.

¹ See observations in the Introduction, p. 27 *supra*.

As to the specific products mentioned in this Summary, it is sufficient to refer to the notes on pp. 93-105 *supra*, which represent the pages of the original cited in these marginal notes.



FORASMUCH AS IT HATH PLEASED HIS EXCELLENT MAIESTIE, for the planting and inhabiting of all that part of *Guiana*, or continent of *America*, lying betweene the riuers of *Amazones*, and the riuers of *Dessequebe*, to grant his gracious Letters Pattents to *Robert Harcourt* of Stanton Harcourt in the County of Oxford Esquire, Sir *Thomas Challener* Knight, and *Iohn Rouenzon* Esquire, and to the heires of the said *Robert Harcourt*, of all the saide Countries, Lands and Territories betweene the said two riuers of *Amazones* and *Dessequebe*, and of all Islands, Lands and Territories within twenty Leagues adiacent thereunto, &c. Together with all Prerogatiues, Iurisdiccions, Royalties, Priuiledges, Franchises and Preheminences¹, both for Gouvernement, Trade, Trafficke, and otherwise, in as large and ample manner, as either his Maiestie, or any of his noble Progenitors, or Predecessors, haue heretofore graunted to any Aduenturers, or Vndertakers of any Discoueries, Plantations, or Trafficke, of, in, or into any forraigne parts whatsoeuer. To haue, hold, possesse, and enioy all and singular the premisses, to the sole and proper vse of the saide *Robert Harcourt*, and his heires for euer². And for that diuers honourable personages, Gentlemen, and others, who are willing and desirous, for the Glory of God, and the Honour of our Nation, to giue aide and assistance, eyther in person, or purse, to the vndertaking of this worthy Action, and Plantation, may truly vnderstand and know, how, and in what maner they shall receiue benefit and profit by their aduentures, and trauels therein; It is thought fit and necessary, for their better content and satisfaction, to publish these Articles insuing³.

THE Planters in generall, are all Aduenturers either in person, or purse.

The meanest Aduenturer in Person, shall haue five hundred Acres as a single share.

Euery one that aduentureth twelue pounds tenne shillings, shall haue five hundred Acres as a single share; and so ratably according to the aduenture, be it more or lesse.

The Plantation and Aduenture is intended to bee partly Generall, and partly Particular.

¹ The *h* was quite regular for a long period: the form is now obsolete. The word denotes a special privilege: compare Burke's "Office...and the pre[h]eminences annexed to it." *Oxf. Dict.* s.v.

² This seems to make the other grantees merely trustees.

³ See Introduction, ch. III, for a discussion of these Articles.

In the Generall Plantation and Aduenture, all persons of all conditions and estates, euen to the poorest seruants, and laborers, men, women, and children, may aduenture asmuch or as little as they please, from ten shillings vpwards, and shall haue in fee simple the assured ratable increase and gaine according to the quantitie of his aduenture; So as for euery ten shillings aduentured, he shall haue twenty Acres in inheritance, and so much yearely profit as those twenty Acres may yeeld.

A Register shall be truely kept of the names of euery Aduenturer in person, and of euery Aduenturer in mony, and of the summe by him aduentured, to the end that they may proportionably receiue the full benefit of their Aduentures.

During the first three yeres, the whole benefit shall goe towards the aduancement of the Plantation.

At the end of those three yeres, a fourth part of the cleere profites remayning shall be diuided betwixt all the Aduenturers in purse or person, ratably according to their shares, and aduentures.

Yeerely for seuen yeares after the first three yeeres ended, three parts of the whole cleere yeerely profit vpon euery returne shall be in like maner diuided; and the other fourth part shall goe towards the aduancement of the Plantation.

In those tenne yeares the Land may be surueyed, & fit distributions & allotments made thereof to the Aduenturers and Planters.

After those tenne yeares it shall be free for euery one to make his best of his allotment at his owne discretion by himselfe, or else to trade and deale in common, as he did before with others, which perhappes will be most conuenient for all small Aduenturers: And a settled order shall for that end be continued, for a continuall, ioynt, and common trade and commerce for euer; for otherwise it might prooue hard for Aduenturers of small summes to reape any benefit after the ten yeeres ended: but by a common continued commerce, they, or their heires, or assignes, shall be sure to haue it.

A Treasurer generall for the Plantation shall bee resident in London, and when the returne of profit diuidable shall be, he shall forthwith deliuer to a particular Treasurer resident in euery shire, the proportionable part or profit due to the Aduenturers of that shire, which particular Treasurer shall deliuer to the high Constables of euery Hundred, the proportionable part due to the Aduenturers of that Hundred: And the high Constables shal deliuer to the Constables and Minister of euery Parish within their Hundreds, where any Aduenturers shall be, the proportionable part due to the Aduenturers of that Parish. And the Constable & Minister shal deliuer to euery person in that Parish his due, according to the proportion of his aduenture.

To this end a Register shall be kept by the Constable and Minister of each parish, of the names of each Adventurer in that Parish, with their severall adventures, & the time when they brought in the same; So as such as be remooved out of a Parish where they adventured, to some other place, shall either themselves, or their heires, or assignes receive his proportionable profite in the parish where he adventured, without further trouble or trauell.

The like Register shall remaine with the high Constables, of the Adventurers in their Hundred.

And the like with the particular Treasurer of that shire, of the Adventurers of that shire.

And the like of all the Adventurers whatsoever, with the Treasurer generall for the Plantation.

But yet such as adventure not before this next intended voyage, (which wee account the first voyage for the Plantation) or before the second, but stay longer expecting the event, must not expect equall shares with the first Adventurers: but if his adventure come in after the second voyage, and before the third, he shall want a fift part of that which the first Adventurers shall haue. And such as come in before the fourth voyage, shall want two fift parts. And such as come in before the fift voyage, shall want three fift parts. And such as come in before the sixt voyage (which perhappes may be the last voyage in the first three yeeres, a voyage being set forth euery halfe yeare) shall want foure fift parts of what the first Adventurers shall haue. And so a single share for so late an Adventurer of twelue pound tenne shillings, will be but one hundred Acres in inheritance, and his profit accordingly in proportion, and so for a greater or lesser rate, so lately adventured,

Euery Adventurer in person, if he die hauing neyther wife, nor childe in Guiana liuing, his next kinsman that will goe in person at the next voyage or sending after his decease, shall haue his share or part: but if none such will goe in person, then the next heire of the deceased in England, shall haue a fift part of that share in inheritance, being about one hundred Acres: And the residue being foure hundred Acres, shall be disposed of to some other that will goe in person, that so by the death of the party deceased, the number of the Planters in person may not be diminished, and that yet his next heire here, may haue some competent benefite by the adventure of his kinsmans person.

If a man and his wife goe, each of them shall haue five hundred acres; yet so, that the share of the wife be at the husbands dispose, as is vsed by husbands in England, that marry women heires, who cannot alien the same without the wiues consent.

If a man & his wife goe, the suruiuor shal haue the others share,

if they haue no children borne in Guiana; but if they haue children borne there, then onely the suruiuor shall haue the share of the deceased, untill the childe be one and twenty yeeres olde, and then the child shall haue it, for that the share of the personall aduenture of the suruiuor, will be competent maintenance, so as the childe may well haue the other share.

If a man and his wife, and a childe of theirs goe, each shall haue five hundred Acres.

The shares of Commaunders, Officers, and men of place, and qualitie, that aduenture in Person, are not to be rated according to single shares of inferiour and common persons, that aduenture in person: but according to their place, qualitie, and merite, in such sort as shall be fit to giue them content, and incouragement to aduenture their persons in so honorable and worthy an Action.

Diuine Preachers that wil imitate the glorious examples of the Apostles (who ceased not to trauell amongst all sorts of Heathen and sauage people for the plantation of the holy Gospel) are worthily numbred amongst the persons of place & qualitie, and shall haue such worthy shares, for the aduenture of their persons, in this seruice of the blessed Trinitie, as shall giue them good content. Thus much concerning the Generall Aduenture and Plantation.

In the Particular Plantation and Aduenture, there shalbe certaine Signiories or other Portions of land allotted and graunted to such as like not to be partakers of the Generall Plantation and Aduenture; but haue otherwise a desire to ioyne together in seuerall companies or corporations of select friends and acquaintance, or else to plant apart, and single by themselues, as Lords of Mannors, or as Farmers.

These Signiories or Portions of Land shalbe conueyed and assured vnto them in Fee simple, with all such Royalties, Liberties, Priuiledges, Franchises, and Commodities, as shalbe fit and necessary for the aduancement of their Plantations, and can (by vertue of the Pattennt) be granted vnto them.

They shall plant and people the same at their owne proper costs and charges, and conuert the profits thereof to their owne use and behoofe, vnder the conditions following.

They shal yeerely pay vnto such Officers as shalbe appointed for that purpose, the fift part of all Ores of Gold and Siluer, as shall at all times hereafter, be found and gotten within the bounds and limites of the Signiories and Lands graunted vnto them, which fift part of Oare, is by the Pattennt reserued to his Maiestie.

The fift part being deducted for his Maiestie, they shal also pay to the Patentees, or vnto their Officers for that purpose appointed, all such rents and duties, as betwixt the said Patentees, and them,

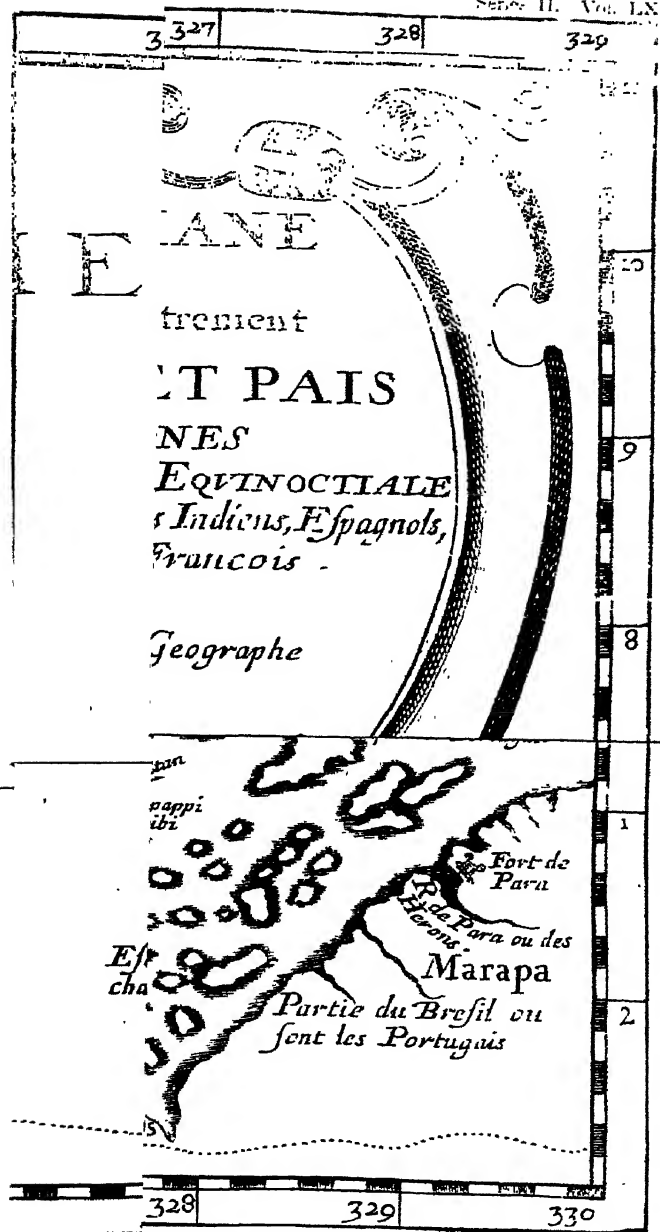
shall be agreed upon, and such as haue beene vsually payed by the planters and inhabiters of the like Plantations, whereof there are extant many presidents: And also from time to time shall obserue, pay, & performe, all such other customs, impositions, reseruations, and limitations, as are mentioned & expressed in the said Patent.

And for their safety and defence in all the said particular Plantations, they shall be ayded, protected, and defended, both by Sea, and Land, against all assaulters, inuaders, and intruders, according to the power and strength of the Vndertakers of the Generall

nerall (sic) Plantation, which I hope (with Gods assistance)

*shall be sufficient to resist and repell the malice
of our greatest enemies.*

FINIS.



APPENDICES

- I. Passages added in the Second Edition of the *Relation* with Introductory Note.
- II. The "Fisher" Report referred to in the *Relation* with Introductory Note.
- III. Note on the composition of the Map specially prepared to accompany this volume.



APPENDIX I

*Collection of the passages containing fresh
matter found in the Second Edition of
HARCOURT'S Relation*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN the Bibliographical Note on pp. 36–9 *supra*, a brief description has been given of the second edition of Harcourt's *Relation* (1626) with some indication of the differences from the original work of 1613.

On careful re-perusal it has seemed desirable to reproduce practically all the new matter which was added in 1626, and so combine in one volume the benefit of both editions.

Some of the added passages are afterthoughts, some apparently embody later information. The first and longest of them has direct bearing on the issue of the new edition,—that is to say on the cooperation with North and his special interest in the Amazon.

It would have spoiled the reproduction of the original text to indicate at each point exactly how the additions came in. This Appendix, with the number of the page in the text and the line on the page, besides italicised and bracketed words, should make it clear where each passage falls into its place in the original.

In the prints of the second edition fresh passages are indicated by a “hand of observation” at the beginning and an inverted hand at the end, exactly as reproduced in the first long passage in this Appendix.

Some notes are added at the foot of the pages.

Two small additions to the Preface—p. 61, l. 15 and p. 62, l. 19—are not reproduced, being not very serious variants.

*The passages added in the 2nd edition with
indication of their position in text*

p. 70, l. 19. The sentence following "mentioned" is deleted and then a new paragraph begins as follows:

¶ But of late, such hath beene generally found the goodnes of that Country, in & about the said riuer of the *Amazones*, and the gentle disposition of the people inhabiting the same, that many of our Countrymen (who since that time haue liued there, some fixe, some seauen, and some eight yeares space, and more)¹ haue taken so good a liking, and so great affection to those parts, that they desire nothing more to raise their Fortunes, then to be there employed vnder the fauour, and protection of their owne Country: hauing hitherto sub-
sisted without any succour or reliefe from it.

A Pinnacle of
30. Tun sailed
300. leagues
vp the riuer
of *Amazones*.

And farther, I haue beene certainly informed of these particulars: That (about 5. yeares since) a Pinnacle of about 30. Tunne, called the *Reliefe*, with about 28. persons, Gentlemen and others (being of the Company which that Noble Captaine *Roger North* left² in the said riuer of the *Amazones*) did in pursuite of his directions for discouery, saile 300. leagues vp into the same; These men were all the while in good health: Fared well by such prouisions as they daily met with by the way: And they saw many great inhabited places, hearing a fame of others farre surpassing them. And also (at last) they met with such a frequent report amongst

¹ The six years go back to 1620, North's own venture (see p. 13 *supra*). The longer periods refer to the men North already found settled on the Amazon: there is apparently no reference to Harcourt's own earlier party, which of course had been on the Wiapoco.

² This apparently makes the exploration take place in 1621 (see also p. 12 *supra*).

the Indians, of certaine Lands, or Ilands, not farre from them, inhabited by *Women* only, that hath left a beleefe in all the Company, of the truth and certainty thereof. The fame of these *Women* was, that by their vse & practise in the warres, they are fearefull and terrible to their enemies and neighbours; And they admit (at certaine months & seasons) the societie of men: with other manners, and ceremonies, not yet perfectly knowne vnto any Christians¹.

A warlike Nation of women in the riuer of *Amazones*, who admit no men to dwell among them

Their farther proceeding vp the said riuer, was neither hindered by any suffering, vnwillingnes, nor wearinesse in such a pleasant discouery, delighting them daily with rare variety of obiects, and encounters: But was meere caused by diuisions among themselues; ensuing vpon the stopping and anihilating the whole businesse in *England*, whereof they had aduertisement, by *Proclamations*² deliuered vnto them.

It may seeme to these parts of *Europe* to be a thing incredible, which these men certainly affirme, by this discouery; Namely, that they found a swelling and abating of the water (according to the course of Tides) by estimation about two or three foote, euen at the furthest of their iourney, being (as aforesaid) about

¹ The legend of the Amazons has been treated by many writers of all nationalities. There is, however, special reason here for referring particularly to the observations of Richard Schomburgk (*op. cit.* vol. II, sec. 603-4) who quotes Alexander von Humboldt and pillories a certain van Heuvel: for in the course of his remarks he has the following interesting passage: "He [van Heuvel] also names from hearsay the tribe which the Amazons annually visit: they are the Teyrous or Tairas in Cayenne, of Carib stock. The river Ouassa is a branch of the Oyapok where Condamine says these 'long ear' Indians lived, as was stated to have been the case by Harcourt during his journey in the year 1608: its inhabitants are Caribs, of which long-eared nation some occupy the Marrawini."

² These proclamations were the result of Gondomar's protests: see p. 111 *supra*. It will be worth the reader's while to refer to Mr Williamson's book on Guiana (pp. 80-106): he refers at some length to the Spanish expedition and mentions the passage at the end of this extract, according to which the English were finally left masters of the field: they must, however, have retired eventually.

300. leagues from the entrance they made into the said riuer.

The Count
of Gondomar.

And here I thinke it fit to giue notice of the dealing of a *Spanish Ambassadour* (whilest he resided in *England*) against these men, after he had procured them to bee altogether abandoned by their owne Country, by his false suggestions, and violent importunity: For not content and satisfied to haue wrought a suspension of all proceedings vpon the Patent of the *Amazones*, so well and happily begunne, and settled here in *England* he was still troubled at the leauing of a hundred persons in those parts, (though as aforesaid, destitute of all their expected, and promised supplies,) and vnderhand made a dispatch into *Spaine*, to procure a Force to supplant and ruine them; whereupon 3 ships were sent from *Spaine*, that had their directions and commission to fall with *Brazil*, & to take in there a competent force to effect the same; which ships with 300. *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, accompanied with about 1500. of their Indians in their **Periagos* came into the riuer in the pursuite of this designe, but being constrained to stop many Tides, and to passe many narrow channels, before they could come to our Country-men, they were so closely watched by them and their Indians, that many of their said enemies were slaine by ambush in the way, euery bancke and bushy couert seruing our side for a sufficient retrenchment; which aduantage was still followed vpon the enemy after their landing: but by reason of the want of gouernment, and that the small number of ours were dispersed, and some would not, and others could not conueniently meete together, way (at last) was giuen vnto the enemy, by running vp farther into the Country and the inland parts, (where they might remaine secure against a farre greater force) so that the enemy not daring any farther attempt (through want of experience in the Country, & the enmitie of our Indians,) after they had done some spoile about the houses, were forced to withdraw themselves into their ships, and to depart the


An attempt
made by the
Spaniards to
ruine the
English.

* Great In-
dian Boates.

riuer, leauing some of their men thereabouts, then to beginne that *actuell possession*, which the *Count of Gondomar* had two yeares before bouldly affirmed to be in being on the behalfe of his Master, when hee obtained the *Suspense* of the forementioned Patent of the *Amazones*, and of all the proceedings thereupon; which act of his, may (perhaps) be esteemed in the number of his greatest practises amongst vs.

The mischief intended vnto our Country men, was bitterly, at the same time, effected vpon diuers Dutchmen, to the losse of their liues, because they were more loosely seated, and more openly exposed vnto the enemie vpon the borders, or Ilands of the maine riuer.

The Dutchmen slaughtered by the Spaniards.

The men left there by the *Spaniards*, were afterward chased quite away by the *English* going aboard the next Dutch ships that came into the riuer. 

The Spaniards chased away by the English.

p. 71, l. 21, after "*untill his death*":

This Indian (as I haue heard) being at the point of death, desired some of my company that were then present, to sing a Psalm with him, which being ended, he tolde them hee could not liue: And hee acknowledged that he had bene a wicked finner: but did hope that he shold be faued by the precious blood of our Sauour Iesus Christ, & desired all them that were then present, to beare witnes that he dyed a Christian, yea (as he added) a Christian of *England*. By this said Indian Iohn, [*I understood*]

p. 85, l. 14, after "*mortall enemie*":

I laboured to Reconcile them, and make them friends, but could not effect it by any meanes: For in their warres betweene the *Taios*, and *Caribes*, the said *Leonard* had stricken out one of the said *Arrawicary's* Eyes, which was the cause of their mortall hatred, that could neuer be in any sort appeased.

p. 85, l. 18, after "*allies*":

And with intent also, that if either side did rebell

against vs, we might be able, with the helpe of one side to suppress the other¹.

[*To the South*]

p. 86, after l. 16 a new paragraph:

And I haue obserued, that very seldome, or neuer, any strife or contention falleth out amongst their wiues; neither are the men giuen to debate or quarrelling: for all the people of one Nation liue one with another in quiet and peaceable manner.

[*These Prouinces*]

p. 89, l. 12, after "*withstand*" the word "*us*" is substituted for "*the might of forraine enemies*," and then follows:

If they would resist, because we knowe the Country, & the aduantages thereof: but is sufficient & able with our aid and helpe, to repell the might of all forraine enemies that knowe not the same.

[Then a new paragraph beginning "*The vsuall*."]

p. 90, l. 25, after "*moisture*," a new short paragraph as follows:

And here is to be noted, that the wind blowing still Easterly, and from the Sea, the clouds exhaled thence, doe at their meeting with the Land which lyeth westward, dissolue and disperse themselues: which is the cause that the greater store of raines doe fall more neere the Sea, and further vp within the land, the raines still lessen more and more.

[*The reasons*]

p. 91, l. 2, after "*within the Tropickes*," a new paragraph:

For a farther declaration and confirmation of the excellent *Temperature* of this Climate and Region, I will presume to add my opiniō, agreeing with some others that haue experience of this Country, that if a question should be demaunded: what Degree of Latitude be-

¹ A piece of policy which was also suggested by the Dutch but not always approved by the Governor (Hak. Soc. II, vol. xxvi, p. 341).

tweene the *Equinoctial Line*, and the *Pole*: or from 1. Degree to 90. Degrees is the best tempered in *Nature*, and by the position and frame of the world? The answer holdeth more strongly for the *Equinoctial*, then for any other parte: Because that there, is the most perfect mixture of heate and colde, each qualifying and tempering the other, in the space of 24. houres, by an equall diuision of day and night. And it is vniuerfally and constantly true, that (*cæteris paribus*) the further off, and the more remote from the *Equinoctial* towards any of the *Poles*, the greater is the distemper and inequality of the heate and colde, being (at last) distinguished into feuerall seasons of a *winter & summer*, whose alteration, change, and vicissitude makes all liuing creatures to be the more sensible, and impatient of either. And whereas some preferre the Latitude of the *Tropicks*, others the Latitude of 30. Degrees, and 35. Degrees, and some of 40. Degrees: none of them strengthening their fantasies and opinions, with any good reason drawn from *Nature*, and *Philosophy*, wherein they ought to lay aside all accidentall causes of winde and weather: I will therefore passe them ouer, and only mention the plausible Argument that preuayleth with many men, touching the Latitude of 45. Degrees; For they alleadge, that to be certainly the best tempered climate, because it is seated (as they say) in the middest of the two extreames, *viz*: the *Equinoctial*, and the *Pole*: concluding and taking for a Certaine grownd (vpon Trust from the antient *Philosophers*) that as vnder the One is the seate of the greatest heate: So vnder the *Other* is the greatest colde; which if it were so in *Nature*, then would their *Position* be true, as I conceiue: If otherwise, then is it altogether weake, and of none account. But as on the *one side* that antient error, concerning the parts vnder the *Equinoctial*, hath of late years bene manifestly detected: So on the *Other*, it may be most probably gathered, that vnder the *Pole*, the *heate* in *Summer* is not so weake as vulgarly is imagined, but is in some

The Climate of the best temper is vnder the *Equinoctial*

proportion correspondent to the *winter colde*, by reason of the continuance of the *Sunne* about their *Horizon* for the space of 6. monthes, by which continuance, the heate is multiplyed vpon the earth aswell, as by his neerenes and perpendicularity, which is plainly known in the northerly Countreyes, of *Swedeland*, *Russia*. &c. where they haue, by the oblique aboade of the *Sunne* about their *Horizon* the space only of some certaine weeks, or dayes, a more violent heat, then we haue here in *England*, or is in some other more Southerly Countreies. But if their said Argument for 45. degrees be well considered, it doth most aptly and truly serue for the *Equinoctial*, being in the iust middle betweene the two *Poles*, which are indeed the two extreames of the world, where there is (in all probabilitie) a distemper of heate, as well as of cold^r. And now let vs againe proceede in our former discourse.

[*They haue no*]

p. 91, l. 26, after "*to be aliuie*," a new paragraph:

Which I gathered vpon a sodaine vprore that one night was amongst them, when the *Moone* was almost all darkened by a great *Eclips*, which the Indians of the towne beholding, ranne hastily into their houses with a great clamour, and fetcht out their Bowes and Arrowes; whereupon wee (not fully acquainted with their customes) doubting they had raised some commotion against vs, (in as great haste) betooke vs to our Armes to preuent the worst: & being so in readinesse waiting the euent, wee found the *Alarme* changed to a pleasant spectacle; For we beheld the Indians with great earnestnesse shooting fire with their Arrowes vp towards the *Moone*, hauing for that purpose fastened *dry kindled and flaming Canes*, to the ends of them. I wondering at the *noueltie*: went presently to *Martin* (the Indian before mentioned) and demanded the reason of this ceremonie;

The Indians
shoote fire vp
towards the
Moone being
in the *Eclips*.

^r It is hardly necessary to criticise or comment on this quaint and confused statement. That may remain for the curious.

who with some laughter at his Countriemens simplicitie. tolde me, that the *Moone* being then in the *Equinoctial*, and the most part darkened, they beleueed she was very sicke, and were afraid that if her light went wholly out, she would then dye; for which cause, they shot fire vp towards her (as I had seene) to giue her more light, to keepe her aliue, and that she might still continue in her former brightnesse. [*But they vse*]

p. 94, l. 19. The passage runs
[*and many times much more:*] So that in the space of two or three houres one man may set as much of this wheat, as may sustaine him, and many more a whole yeare. [It maketh excellent meale or flower for bread, and very good malte for beere or ale:] It is better food at Sea, being boyled, then either Rice, or Oatmeale, [*and serueth well for sundry other necessary uses*]

The words in square brackets just above are the text of the first edition.

p. 95, l. 6, after "*nations*," add:
both in their houfes, and otherwise.

p. 95, l. 7. The passage "*There is great store of hony*" is altered as follows:

There is great store of Honey in those parts, of which
may be made very excellēt drinkes much vsed in *Wales*,
called *Meath*, and *Meatheglin*. Store of
Honey.

p. 96, l. 4, "*Maipuries*" becomes "*Tortoyses*¹," and a new passage immediately follows:

There is a little beaft called a *Guayna*², which commonly frequenteth the water, but vsually is found at land; It is a quicke and nimble beaft, will climbe vp into the highest trees by the water side, and from thence (vpon any fodaine feare) will cast themselues downe into the water for their safety; this beaft (in outward shew) is of a dreadfull shape, hauing foure leggs, and The beaft
called *Guayna*

¹ *I.e.* turtles, which are a regular stand-by for the traveller in Guiana.

² To anyone familiar with travels in Guiana the absence of all mention of the iguana in the first edition is very strange. Here the omission is repaired.

a long taile, like vnto a *Newt*, or *Lyzard*: his necke and backe seemeth to be set with a row of sharpe prickles, but in touch they are as soft as flesh; his colour is mixed of greene and yellow, and somewhat speckled; he is somewhat bigger then a great Conie; The females of these beafts make their nests in drye sandy places on the riuers sides, or in the Ilands, and will lay (in each nest) aboue an hundred little egges, about the bignesse of a Pigeons egge, these egges are excellent meat, and very restoratiue; they are alwayes hatched by the heat of the Sunne; when we handle this beast, it seemeth (and truely is) a most harmelesse creature: and being vncafed, and stript from his skinne, is a white flesh like vnto a Rabbet, and is dainty meate. There is a great beast called *Maipury*, which in taste is like Beefe, and will take Salt: This beast doth ordinarily resort vnto the riuers, and feedeth vpon fish¹: he will diue and swimme a long time vnder the water, sometimes eight or tenne score² before he will appeare againe, and swimmeth with admirable swiftnesse. There is another beast called *Baremo*, we call him the Ant-beare, for he feedeth vpon Ants; he hath a long snowte, and a mouth so small that we can hardly put the end of our little finger into it: hee hath a tongue neere a quarter of yard long, like vnto a great earth-worme, wherewith hee licketh vp the Ants: he neigheth and maketh a noyse not much vnlike to a horse: he is bigger then a mastife Dogge, and hath a great flat bushie tayle aboue a yarde broad, by the helpe whereof hee will leape lightly from tree to tree, and likewise from the top of high trees to the ground; This beast in taste is [*like Mutton*]

The beast
called *Mai-
pury*.

The beast
called *Barena*
feedeth vpon
Ants.

p. 97, l. 7, after "*Sea-fish*," come the words:

There is Mullet (which Fish, by experience of some of our Countrymen) will take salte. There is Sea-breame, [*Soale*,]

¹ The tapir is not really a fish-eater.

² Apparently the word "seconds" is dropped.

p. 98, l. 23, after "*Raleigh*," a new paragraph:

The benifite which may arise, by salting the Beast aforesaid called *Maipury*, the Fish called *Mullet*, and this *Sea-cow*, is highly to be regarded: For by them (being salted) wee may conueniently victuall Ships, to sustaine them during their returne homeward.

[*The feuerall*]

p. 99 *ad fin.*, after "*satisfaction thereof*," the following new passage:

But here let vs duly consider the intollerable labours, excessiue charges, and ineuitable inconueniences the *Moores* and *Spaniards* haue vsually suffered & vndergone, to make *Sugars* in *Barbary*, besides the charge of the grounds and custome to the King there, which are very great; for in that country, when the Sugar-canes were planted, they attended three yeares space for their growing and ripening, before they could cut them for the mill; And that cropp being cut, the Canes grew no more on the same roots, but they replanted new Canes, and stayed the like tyme (as before) for a new cropp. Moreouer in the drie & skorching heate of the yeare, they wanting water neere them to water their Sugar-canes, haue bene constrained to builde channells vpon walles, and Arches of Bricke, at the least 20. miles in length, to bring water (by that meanes) into their grounds, to water them at times conuenient; And their Canes were often blasted with vnwholsome dewes, which in those parts are very frequent. Furthermore, the wood (wherwith they boyled their Sugars) grew so farre from them, that they were enforced to fetch it, by burthens vpon Cammels backes, aboue 20. or 30. miles. The due consideration of these insupportable labours, charges, and inconueniences (which I credibly vnderstood by an English-man, that for seauen years space had wrought vnder the Spaniards in a Sugarworke in *Barbary*) may truely giue great and comfortable encouragement to all Aduenturers and vnder-takers in this Action; For whereas the *Moores* and

The incon-
ueniences
the *Moores* &
Spaniards
haue had in
their Sugar
workes in
Barbary.

The commodious advantages *Guiana* affordeth to make Sugar.

Spaniards in *Barbary* were continually subiect to the aforesaid mischiefes: we in *Guiana*¹ by the incomprehensible Providence, and goodnesse of God the Creator, are absolutely freed from them; For there we haue happily by experience found, that when the Sugar-canes are planted in ground fitting for them, they prosper and growe vp in 10. months to full ripenesse to be cut; They are likewise free from all blasting dewes; And are continually moistened by a sweete and comfortable dew falling in the night, which watereth them as much as three houres raine would do in the day; And the first cropp of canes being cut, they growe vp againe vpon the same roots, and in 10. months more come to full ripenesse, as before ready to be cut: And so may we euery yeare haue a cropp for 4. or 5. years together, before we neede to replant newe Canes. And the wood to boyle the Sugars is euer neere at hand, growing by the same places where we intend to build our Sugar-workes, and plant our Canes. These great aduantages aduisedly considered may giue full satisfaction, what hopefull & inestimable benefit and profit may be expected by making Sugars in *Guiana*, being one of our principall intendements. And in that tract of Land betweene the riuer of *Cassipurogh*, and the riuer of *Caiane*, and somewhat further to the West, the greatest store of Sugar-canes are found, and there likewise are the fittest places to plant them, and to erect and build Ingenios², and Sugar-workes to make the Sugar.

[*The Cotton wooll*]

p. 100, l. 3, after "*those parts*" the sentence down to "*people*" is omitted, and the following passage inserted:

¹ The account, both as to ratooning (the subsequent growth of canes on the stools which have been cut) and otherwise is justified by experience.

² The Spanish word for engine or mill: *ingenio de azucar* is a sugar-mill. Some Elizabethan writers used *ingenio* alone for this (*Oxf. Dict. s.v.*).

Of this Cotton wooll which (truly is) the finest of all other, there may be gotten infinite quantities, with little or no charge, and with easie labour: for it groweth vpon trees, and euery Indian house hath commonly store of those trees already about it, which yeeld them Cotton more then sufficient for their owne vses, which (if wee require them) they will gather for vs, & within the yeare returne vs a good quantitie thereof, either ready spunne, or in the wooll; And if we either set the Seede, or cut some of the branches of the Cotton trees into small sticke about halfe a yard in length, & pricke them into the ground, they will speedily growe vp, and beare Cotton within the space of two yeares, as hath bene often proued by experience. [*There is a naturall Hemp*]

and to the description of this "hemp" there is an addition:

It is of some called filke-grasse.

p. 101, l. 6, after "*liquor is cold*," come the following words:

There are Barkes of certaine trees, which by boyling, dye a perfect Carnation in wool. [*Many other*]

p. 102 *ad fin.*, after "*delectable*" (*i.e.* before the last paragraph), the following new passage:

There are diuers Oyles very necessary for many purposes: namely of the fish before mentioned, Pag 39. called *Manati*, or Sea-cow, there may be made an excellent oyle; The Indians likewise doe make diuers oyles out of Trees, Nuts, and other things, which are of good use. Oyles

There is plenty of Honey, & Wax, which although it be taken out of Trees, and Buries in the earth, yet it is as good as any in the world; They are good commodities for marchandise, and may be increased according to the industry, and paines bestowed vpon them. Honey.
Wax.

Wee haue likewise found great store of coddled

Guinea
Pepper. Pepper¹, which commonly is called *Guinea* Pepper: It is a good Spice for many vses: The Indians make an excellent Sauce therewith, which they ordinarily vse with their meate, and we haue found it very good and wholefome.

Long Pepper. I haue had good testimony of another sorte of Spice, commonly called Long-pepper, which beareth (amongst the Druggists) a better price then the former.

[*For Phisicke*]

p. 104 *ad fin.*, after "*a Tunne*," the following is inserted:

Ebony.
Red wood. There is another hard, black wood like Ebony, which in waight exceedeth the other, and is of a good price. There is likewise another heauy red wood², but not speckled as the former: It is much sought after, and taketh a good price. [These woods are excellent for Ioyners worke: as Chaires, Stooles, Bedstedes, Presses, Cuboords, and for wainfcot.] The variety of Trees, and feuerall tempers of woods in those Countreyes, is great, & farre excelling any part of *Europe*. These woods are cut downe, dressed, and brought to vs by the Indians, and by that meanes gathered together against the arriual of our shippes, wherby within 6. moneths, or the space of a voyage, great store and many Tunnes may be had in readines to be returned home, without any toyle, or labour of ours.

Feathers. The variety of Feathers of rare colours, is beyond imagination, and I thinke noe other parts of the world can afforde so many; They may be solde at a good rate.
[*There is yet*]

p. 105, l. 1, after "*good price*," the words to the end of the sentence are replaced by the following longer statement:

¹ "Codded" apparently means "stripped of the cod or husk," in which case it means white as opposed to black pepper. It is remarkable that *Oxf. Dict.* has not this word, though it gives "cod-pepper" as the equivalent of the *capsicum*.

² This might be the mora or perhaps the crabwood.

Amongst which I vnderstand for truth of certaine Rockes or Mines of Cristall; This reporte I receiued from some that for diuers yeares haue liued in those parts; the Indians likewise doe affirme the same, and for a further testimony, I haue lately seene a peece of a Cristall rocke that was there found. Moreouer I haue heard of Saphyres, Iasper, and Porphyry. Of Spleene-stones I haue seene many, and in the Countries bordering the riuer of *Amazones* there is great plenty of them. The Topase I haue mentioned before, Pag. 19. And haue somewhat touched the Minerals or Mines of Mettals, Pag. 35. Of which likewise I will speake more in the Pages next following.

Cristall.

Stones, and
precious
Stones

There are whole Ilands, and woods of wilde Nutmeg-trees, which beare a small Nutmeg with the Mace: In time we may bring them to perfection, either by cropping the old trees, and transplanting the yong plants, or by some other fitting industry, vnto which our experience shall leade vs.

Nutmegs and
Mace.

[*The things*]

p. 106, l. 23, after "*neere vnto Cole-harbour*," a new sentence:

The like examples haue bene often (since that time) produced both by Englishmen, Dutch, and Frenchmen, that yearely retorne from thence. [*And I make*]

p. 111, l. 8. The passage beginning "*The dangers and great difficulties*" is shortened and the remarks as to the structure of the canoes, etc., thrown into a side-note in large type.

p. 114, l. 24, after "*again to Wiapoco*," the following new passage:

Then the said Indian *Anthony Canabre*, together with his Vncle, and some other Indians his friends, began to cut downe woods, and to cleare some part of the ground at the said *Gomeribo*, with intent to build them houses, and make Gardens to plant *Maix*, and *Cassai* for their prouision of Bread and Drinke; And they laboured to

to good effect; that (as I haue bene credibly informed) there is now a Towne of Indians in that place, containing about 50. or 60. houses.

[*Now Sir,*]

Rivers to the West of Courawo. p. 116, l. 29, after "Vracco, and Amanna," the following words are inserted:

The Countries of *Manmanury* and *Sinammara*, are plentifully peopled with *Charibes*, and are all vnder the subiection of *Arrawicary of Caiane*, [*I arriued*]

p. 127. The ending of the third paragraph is rather altered to: "*being of great and extraordinary importance, and not lightly to be regarded*"; and then the following new paragraph is added:

And the rather, because our intention is (by God's favour, and your Maiesties gracious assistance) not only for Trade and Traficke (as afore-time¹) but a reall Plantation of the Country, and Propagation of true Religion; than which nothing can be more profittable, honourable, and Holy.

[*In euery forraine Action undertaken by the subjects*]

p. 128, last line, after "*Christianity*," the following words:

if a conuenient & choise number of learned Ministers (such as are of good life, godly conuersation, and zealously affected to the Action) may be sent by an *Apostolicall Mission* from the *Church of England*, to imploy their endeauours in that Religious worke; [*for they will come*]

p. 130 *ad med.*, a variation as follows:

Which Countrie being blest with a perpetuall Summer, and a perpetuall Spring, hauing the Dayes & Nights of an equall length, the Dayes being continually cooled with a *Brieze* of Easterly winde, and the Nights likewise being refreshed with sweete and comfortable Dewes then falling, doe cause such an admirable and

¹ A curious statement: for Harcourt's original intention as developed in his first edition plainly regarded settlement and not merely trade. The reference may be to North's earlier effort, but even so it is too strong.

equall mixture of Heate & Colde, that the world hath not a Climate of more pleasant tēper; [*and the Soile fruitfull*]

pp. 133 sqq. For the matter in the first edition the following Recapitulation is substituted in the second and is now printed in full.

*A Recapitulation, of the Commodities of the Country:
Together with an addition of the nature of
the Returnes to be expected.*

NOW I will more at large explaine some materiall points, of the *Commodities*, and proffit of the Country: Togeather with the nature of the *Returnes* to be expected from thence, which being well and truely vnderstood, may fully satisfie and resolue all vnpartially affected Persons, that the mony this way aduentured, is vpon sure grownds, and according to good Iudgement.

First, of the *Commodities*, which haue rather presented themselues vnto our view, than bene found out & discouered by any curious search, or Industry; They are as followeth: *Sugar-canes, Cotton-woolls, Silke grasse, Dyes in graine, Sweete Gummes, Ambers, Balsamums, Oyles, Hony, Wax, some Spices, Drugges and Simples, rich Woods, Feathers, Tobacco, Cristall, Iasper, Porphery, Saphyres, Topases, Spleen-stones, Mineralls, and plenty of wilde Nutmeggs, with the Mace.*

First of the
Commodities.

Secondly, out of some of these Commodities (namely: *Dyes in graine, rich Woods, Tobacco, &c.*) We may certainly, and in present, make a *Returne* to recompence a good and reasonable Charge, euen of the First voyage in transporting of men to establish the *Colonie* in those parts: which will arise, partly by trading with the Indians; and partly by dealing with our owne Countrymen there already seated.

Secondly of
the Returnes
to be expected,
and the nature
of them.

The second
Voyage.

The second voyage in conueying ouer more men, we shall, in the Returne thereof, add to the aforesaid helps and aduantages, a further profit drawn from the *Colonie*, consisting aswell of such as haue bene* anciently there abyding, as of those there settled the first Voyage: who will be both willing, and well able to yeald and afforde the Company here in England, a *Third parte* of all the gaine, profit, and Commodities, which they shall rayse and gett in the Country.

* As may appear by an agreement vnder their hands, made with Capt. North. Anno 1620.

The Third
Voyage; and

The *Third Voyage* (still sending out more Supplies) the Returne will bee augmented, according to the number of men in the Country, as aforesaid, and also according to the aduantage of tyme: by improuing, preparing, and getting some other of the forementioned *Commodities*, which will yeald a sensible and certaine increase after a yeare, two, or three: as in the *Cotton Woolls*, and *Sugar-canes*, &c. whereof more at Large, *Page 41. 42. 43.* wherby may be conceiued and concluded a Multiplying of benefitt: the Charge of the Supplies, and setting out, remayning still the same.

By transportation of Commodities to the Colonie

Vnto this I add, as a note of noe small waight and Consideration: That forasmuch as concerneth the *Colonie*, they will bee so farre from becoming chargeable vnto the aduenturers and Company in England, that they will be able to afforde and yeald them a certaine gaine, for such things as shall be requisite for their vse: as all manner of *Cloathing*, *Apparaile*, &c. And what els they shall desire, for plenty, or superfluitie: as *Aquavita*, *Wines*, &c. For it is knowne by the experience of many yeares, that the *Dutchmen* haue gayned by them at least *Centum per Centum* in all Commodities they Carried vnto them; any abatement whereof by the way and meanes of their owne Country, will be very gratefull and acceptable vnto them: and also profitable to the Aduenturers, and Company in *England*.

Obiection.

And because it is often obiected, that the *Spaniards* when they please, may subuert and ruine our Plantation.

Answer.

I Answer: That the feare thereof most neerely con-

cerneth the *Colonie* there abyding: who may, and can subsist, with a reasonable care and providence, against any attempt that shall be made vpon them: some testimony whereof may appeare in the former Relation, by a few dispersed men, being altogether without Gouvernement. Page 7. 8¹. As also by the voyage of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which was set out at a great expence, and being of thirteene saile of ships great and small, they could hardly spare and furnish so many men, as were sufficient to take the towne of *Saint Thome* in the west Indies: but by their Resolution and suddainnes on the one side; and the former securitie and present amazement of the Spaniards on the other side, hauing made themselues masters of the same, they were neuerthelesse altogether vnable either to gaine and possesse the Country, or to supplant and roote out the Spaniards, & after a months space, their prouisions being spent, they were forced to quit the Countrie². And of more late experience, the Dutchmen hauing taken the Towne of *Todos los Santos* in *Brafill*, could not for all that, get any further interest or possession of the Country by reason of the firmenesse of the Country people vnto the *Portugalls*³.

And forasmuch as concerneth the Aduenturers, & Company in *England*: They haue farre greater aduantage of the Spaniards, and many more wayes and meanes to endamage them, and secure themselues, or to recouer any losse, or detriment they shall sustaine by their meanes. Neither can the Spaniard (although he were free from all other cares, incombrances, and imployments) euer assure himselfe to supplant, or Roote vs out of those Countreyes, whilest the Natiues remayne so aduerse and irreconcilable vnto them, and so firme and Constant vnto vs.

¹ The pages are those found in the second edition of the *Relation*: the passage referred to will be found at p. 146 *supra*.

² The reference is to Raleigh's second and disastrous voyage.

³ One of the cherished objects of the Dutch after the founding of the West India Company was to conquer Brazil. The reference is to earlier efforts than the great one which began in 1630.



APPENDIX II

The "Fisher" Report

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

[Particular attention is requested to the Postscript to this Note.]

IN *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Volume IV, immediately following the reprint of Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, there is included (Bk VI, Chap. XVII) a "Relation of the habitations and other Observations of the River of Marwin and the adjoining Regions," with a marginal note in which Purchas states that he had found the document fair-written amongst Mr Hakluyt's papers but knew not who was the author.

Purchas was handling such a mass of material that he may be forgiven for not always examining it critically. Careful perusal of this present document shews that it is a copy (or fragment of a copy) of an original report or memorandum sent to Robert Harcourt by one of those whom, as he reports in his *Relation*¹, he left on the Maroni in Guiana to carry out explorations in that river. It is probably Unton Fisher's own, for it has much detail and indicates care and pains, and Harcourt says² of Fisher that he was "of a good wit and very industrious." The other man who might have written it was Humphrey Croxton, the Apothecary³.

The internal evidence of the document itself leaves little room for doubt. In the first place there is the statement, "Maperitacca (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left us and with whom we continue)," which corresponds exactly with Harcourt's statement that he laid on Maperitaka the care of his party and that he faithfully observed the charge. Again,

¹ p. 119 *supra*.

² p. 119 *supra ad med*.

³ p. 119 *supra ad init*.

when Harcourt refers to the country at the head of the Maroni¹ as reported by Fisher, he adopts almost *verbatim* the passage: "Some twenty daies farther is the head of the River Marwin where dwell Parawagottos, Arwacas and Suppays and after a daies journey in the Land they report the way to be very faire and champian² ground with long grasse."

On the other hand Harcourt, on Fisher's authority, enumerates thirteen remarkable tribes in this district, and adds certain special details³, all of which we should expect to find, but do not find, in the paper under consideration. He also, on the same authority, states that "there fall into Marrawini divers great rivers," and enumerates several of the identity of which there can be no reasonable doubt. Yet the report has no mention of these, though it contains the passage: "As for the River of Marwin there are no other rivers which fall into it."

There can only be one explanation of the apparent discrepancies. The document which Purchas found was imperfect. It lacks some important passages: there is a missing page in the copy, probably at the point where Purchas has added his marginal note as to the Caribs with long ears, before the enumeration of the "townes from the foot of Marwin...along the sea." If the assumption is correct that such a passage first developed the detail as to the Indian tribes and then went on to describe the tributaries of the Maroni and the adventures which Unton Fisher and his party encountered in ascending the river⁴, it might very well run to a full page of ms., and it would also be natural for the writer to pass on to the towns near the mouth of the river, and then conclude with the statement that "there are no other rivers which fall into it," *i.e.* other than those just previously enumerated, before passing on to general topics.

¹ p. 120 *ad med.*

³ p. 120 *supra.*

² *I.e.* Champain; cf. p. 82 *supra.*

⁴ pp. 119-20 *supra.*

Moreover, Harcourt states that he directed his cousin Fisher to prosecute the discovery of Marrawini, proceed as far inland as possible and find the city of Manoa mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh. The document found by Purchas corresponds pretty exactly with such a commission; allowing for additions which struck the author as interesting. And even if it be only a part of the whole report, it is just the part which it was most desirable to have preserved: it gives the details which Harcourt, not to burthen his *Relation*, omitted in his account of Fisher's journey. For these gossip details about Manoa Harcourt would feel hardly suitable for a treatise which was intended to produce practical results and to advance genuine settlement as opposed to mere love of adventure.

The scheme of the report seems then to have been as follows:

(a) Enumeration of settlements on the Maroni itself.

(b) Description of tribes around and above the sources of the Maroni [missing].

(c) Enumeration of settlements in the Coast region to the north-west of the Maroni mouth. The short paragraph which follows this in the text of the document quite vividly explains the situation of these places.

(d) A somewhat discursive narrative of stories which the writer had picked up from talks with the natives, leading to:

(1) Some interesting details as to the Indians friendly to Raleigh and their expectations of his return. These, it will be remembered, are some ten years at least after the last of Raleigh's special missions to those regions following on his own first voyage.

(2) The stories which he collected as to Manoa, or as he writes it: "Monooan which I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa."

One point which strikes attention on comparing the Fisher paper with Harcourt's *Relation* and the Tatton

map is the variation in names. At first puzzling this becomes, on attentive study, a most interesting lesson in the representation and transcription of Indian names. Reference has been made in Chap. II, sec. II of the Introduction¹ to the causes of variation in recording names: here we have excellent instances of all those causes. To begin with it is clear that some of the forms in Fisher's document, as Purchas got it, are due to errors of copying—the attempt to set down an unfamiliar name in a form which seems possible to the copyist: these are noted in each case in a footnote as they occur: a special case is that of the alleged village called "Russia" at the beginning of the report. It is a most improbable name, and on consulting the Tatton map it is seen that a village in that position seems to be "Wiany²": the latter name badly written in a cramped or straggling hand is capable of being read as something like "Russia," and the copyist would set down the idea which had some familiarity. More interesting are the different efforts of the various travellers to present the names of places as the Indians seemed to give them. The Quenow of Fisher's record is clearly the Coe-wynay of Harcourt's narrative: comparable with this is Quiowinne in Harcourt's table of rivers³ for the well known Cuyuni. The varying effort of mouth and ear in two or more persons raises interesting philological questions: even in the old Latin the "Q" and "C" were regular variants, and the "now" of one man is the "nay" (to be pronounced *nā-ee*) of another. One more special case is worth quoting here: on Tatton's map is the queer name "Erwoedy"; it corresponds exactly in position with the village Fisher calls "Arowatta": at first so dissimilar, the two presentations of the name can

¹ p. 22 *supra*.

² On the original map in the British Museum the names are clearer than in the reproduction, though even so they are not easy to read.

³ p. 132 *supra*: it is the same in the table of rivers attached to Fisher's paper, as to which see p. 185 *infra*.

easily be substantiated by philological tests. These and other cases are mentioned in footnotes as they arise.

There is one particular idiosyncrasy in the names of the Fisher document: the author evidently clipped the final ending so often represented by an "i" or "y." To him Marrawini becomes Marwin. The village Marra-comwin mentioned first in his report has a "y" to finish it on the Tatton map, and there are other instances.

It is practically certain from careful comparison that Tatton in preparing his map had no access to Fisher's report. Presumably the report was ready in 1610, and Unton Fisher must have died before the season of 1611¹, but when it came home to Harcourt we cannot say. We are not aware that any supply ships visited the settlement on Harcourt's account. It may have been kept back and ultimately brought home with Michael Harcourt and others in 1612². It may of course have arrived in time for use by the draughtsman of the map, but it could hardly have been so used: the variations between the names on the report and those on the map point to *viva voce* communications. It is impossible to take these matters out of the region of conjecture.

It will, however, be useful to read the report by the map, especially as to the "townes in the River of Marwin," and this is more conveniently dealt with in a footnote to the passage.

The portion of the report which deals with Raleigh and Manoa (not one-third of it) should be read with Raleigh's *Discoverie of...Guiana*. It is pretty clear that Fisher wrote it with a copy of Raleigh's treatise by him, or at any rate with full notes: he must have cross-questioned pretty closely those Indians who professed to remember the great adventurer.

In the list of rivers annexed to the report and that following the *Relation*, there is at first glance a strong similarity: on investigation the former is almost hope-

¹ See what Harcourt says on p. 120 *supra*.

² See p. 115 *ad fin.* for the date.

lessly confused. It appears to be intended to run from beyond the Orinoco to the Amazon: Brabisse is probably for Ouarabiche: but there is at least one serious displacement which looks like the error of a copyist: the block in the right-hand column from "Demeerare" to "Commawin" should come across to the other column between "Matooronee" and "Marrawin." In order to make this clear in the text the erring passage has been put in square brackets with a footnote for guidance.

Careful study of the two tables increases the conviction that this second one is a bad copy of an original which Harcourt had before him. With his general knowledge and the opportunity of questioning his subordinates Harcourt would easily turn out the more complete and fairly accurate list which is placed at the end of his *Relation*.

The last paragraph of the document contains a puzzle. There seems to be no relevance in the words "Ekinnicke, etc.," unless we may suppose that it is mentioned in a missing page of the document.

Reading together the present document and Harcourt's account of the tributaries of the Maroni, it seems apposite to examine here the extent to which he had obtained knowledge of the basin of the Maroni. The material available for that river enables us to follow it in far greater detail than the Oyapok on which Harcourt actually made his settlement. The inquiry will be facilitated by attention to the variations in reproduction of the Indian names, as to which some observations have been made in the Note on Names¹. The first catch is in the pronunciation of Maroni: Máröni is correct; and the accent on the first syllable brings into line at once the variants Márro-wine, Márra-winni and Marwin. The latter part of the name varies in the attempt to reproduce different native individual pronunciations. In the same way we can with some confidence trace

¹ See p. 40 *supra*.

other rivers from Harcourt's names, e.g. Topannāwin is clearly Tappanāhōni, one of the big tributaries entering the main river on the left bank; Arroua is clearly Araoua, another large tributary on the right bank; Anape is the Ouanapi or Napi¹, another large stream coming in higher up on the right bank; Annime is probably a presentation of the double name Yaou-inini¹, again on the right bank. The name Errewin is probably Ermnia², a small tributary lower down stream on the right bank. This accounts for six out of eleven names mentioned: there is some ground for suggesting that some of the others are due to a confusion with other parts of Fisher's narrative: particularly when *Arrennee* and *Arretowennee* are compared with "a town called *Aretonenne*³": where information is so vague, it would be easy to confuse statements made by Indians almost in the same breath as to rivers and the settlements on them.

Somewhat troublesome are the discrepancies between Harcourt's *Relation*⁴ and the report under discussion.

Taupuramune, marked on the Tatton map⁵, is said by Harcourt to have been reached by Fisher's party after "eleven daies journey up the river": the Fisher report on the other hand has "about some eleven daies journey beyond the lone house there is a towne called Tauparamunni," and the "lone house" is said to be "some dayes journey from Paramaree," which is itself some distance above Moyemon (Maperitaka's abode)⁶ and still further from the mouth of the river. Clearly, Harcourt has not quite followed Fisher's detail: he possibly had verbal means of revising it.

Again Moreshego, according to Harcourt⁷, is four days further up than Taupuramune: the report has "a daies journey from thence is another Towne called

¹ See map of Guyane Française (Cayenne) by Guffroy, Paris, 1901.

² See Coudreau's map, *op. cit.*

⁴ p. 120 *supra*.

⁶ p. 117 *supra ad init.*

³ See p. 173 *infra prope fin.*

⁵ See also p. 173 *infra*.

⁷ p. 119 *prope fin.*

Moreefheego": it is probable that the indefinite article is a misreading of a "4"—a copyist's error, and that there is no actual discrepancy.

Again, comparing the statement in the *Relation* that "fix daies journey beyond Moreshego there are divers mighty Nations of Indians, etc." with that of the report, "About some twentie days journey beyond Moreefheego is a towne called Aretonenne whose Inhabitants bee Careebrees having very long eares, etc.¹," it is fair to conclude that two different places are intended. It is true that the general reckoning is from point to point inland along the river; but this need not be pressed in all cases. Nor need we reckon from "Aretonenne" the distance indicated in the phrase, "Some twentie daies farther is the head of the River Marwin": for the *Relation*, obviously quoting Fisher², shews that the twenty days are to be reckoned from Taupuramune: this is quite consistent with the report, in which the heading "Twelfthly" would thus have three co-ordinated pieces of information all reckoned with reference to Taupuramune.

Of the remainder of the report there are two items which perhaps require a few words beyond the footnotes: these are the two sets of "directions"—first from Marrawin to Cooropan, the second from the head of Selinama to Cooropan. Fisher was evidently much impressed by the stories of the "Yaio, an ancient man (who came downe from the head of the River Selinama in a little Canoa...)," and after many adventures ultimately found a refuge in "a Towne of the *Arwaccas* called Cooroopon"; so he gives careful directions for finding him again if he is required. Evidently the points named in the "Directions" are taken down from this Yaio and his Indian friends: they lie in a country which apparently has never been systematically explored—the

¹ See p. 25 *supra*. The statement in the *Relation* is clearly based upon exaggerated Indian stories.

² p. 120 *supra*.

hinterland of what is now Dutch Guiana. Cooropan is stated to be seven days' journey from the head of the Selinama (Surinam) river: that river is comparatively short and rises in unknown country towards the middle reaches of the Corentyn: the line from the head waters of the Maroni to the source of the Surinam would run north-westerly over unexplored country: presumably that from the source of the Surinam to Cooropan would run southerly to meet the other. In the absence of any modern maps or geographical notes of this country even the mountains Payen, Una, Pipicorwarra and others must remain mysterious names. It would be an interesting piece of exploration to open the lines and try to verify the names after 300 years!

Postscript. Some time after the above note was in the press, the editor of this volume came upon two references to the document by Sir Robert Schomburgk, who suggests in notes to his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie* (already cited) that it was possibly Fisher's report (Hak. Soc. vol. III, pp. 38, 97 and 155). Later still attention was called to Dr Edmundson's interesting speculations on its subject-matter in his remarkable article in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XXI, pp. 237-40: he makes no bones about treating it as Unton Fisher's own report; but obviously he had not analysed it exhaustively.

APPENDIX II

Reprint of Purchas's vol. iv, lib. vi, chap. xvii, as it appears in the folio edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625.

A Relation of the habitations and other Obseruations of the Riuer of Marwin, and the adioyning Regions.

Townes in the Riuer of *Marwin*.

¶ *Nprimis*, *Marracomwin*¹ a little Village so called where the *Arwaccas* dwell, whose chiefe Captaine is *Coretan*, and is at the foot of the Riuer of *Marwin*

¹ On Tatton's map spelt Maracowiny; possibly one of the forms is merely a miscopy.

It is pretty clear that Gabriel Tatton (map A) had not the Fisher report before him: both his detail and his spelling of names would have been different. Doubtless he obtained his detail on the Marrawini from or through Harcourt, who had been up the river for some little distance in 1609. But the map does help us to follow the opening passage in the Fisher document, and it may be worth while to indicate the result of comparison.

There can be no question as to the identity of Marracomwin in the report with Marracowiny in exactly the same position on the map: this makes it almost certain that *Russia* is simply a miscopied *Wiany* (?). It is curious that Moyemon does not appear on the map, since Harcourt has the name and it is clearly the large village: it appears on Du Val's map (B): and it is just possible that Marewiny on map A is a miscopying of the name in the text. However that may be, Moyemon is said to be on the left hand going up, and then we are told that Kiawarie is "almost right against" it, *i.e.* opposite to it and so on the other bank. This coincides exactly with the position of Caylaware on the map, and the natural reading of the passage gives Quenow (Coewinay) and Arawato (Erwoedy) on the same bank, the right hand going up. The next town mentioned, Comurattie, is on the other side (left, going up) and Pasim beyond it on the same side. Nothing corresponds on the map without

in a creak on the left hand¹ going vp the Riuer. Secondly, *Russia*² a little Village so called where likewise *Arwaccas* dwell being likewise at the foote of the Riuer on the right hand going vp the Riuer. Thirdly, *Moyyemon*³, a large Towne where are some twentie houies all builded very lately, inhabited by *Paracagotis* and *Taios*, whose chiefe Captaine is *Maperitacca* (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left vs, and with whom we continue) being on the left hand of the Riuer. Fourthly, *Kiawwarie*⁴, a Towne inhabited by *Careebees*, almost right against *Moyyemon*, whose Chiefetaine is ———. Fifthly, *Tonorima*, a little Village about *Kiawary* inhabited by *Careebees*, being on the same side of the Riuer, who be gouerned by the Captaine of *Quenow*. Sixtly, *Quenou*⁵, a Towne some quarter of a mile distant from *Tonorima*, inhabited by *Careebees*, whose Chiefetaine is *Vcapea*⁶, hauing a lame hand. Seuenthly,

postulating great confusion of sound and spelling for the simple purpose of identification: but the map has, where Pasim (if that really is the name) might be, a name almost identical with Tanatweya, given as the chief of Pasim: it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that Tatton got hold of the name of the chief instead of the name of his town. The next town is given as Paramaree on the other side (right, going up): is it possible that we are face to face with another miscopying, which would be quite easy, and have now found the modern Paramacca—a name which seems to be found on both banks? Then beyond Paramaree at some distance is “a lone house,” on the same side of the river: on the map there is coloured an indication of a large house or settlement called Tapwy, much in the position where we should expect the “lone house”: are they one and the same? And this completes the itinerary to Tauparamuni. See also separate notes *infra*.

¹ The “left hand going up” is of course our “right bank.”

² See the Introductory note, p. 166: and note on previous page.

³ See p. 117 *supra ad init.* and note on previous page.

⁴ Apparently the Kailawary of Tatton’s map. The introduction of an “l” is a not uncommon variant: compare Caliana for Cayenne.

⁵ Quenou or Quenow is the Coewinay of the map. See remark on p. 166 as to the “Q” and “C.” Cf. Quiowinne for our familiar Cuyuni, an illustration which leaves no doubt.

⁶ Vcapea is clearly a bad piece of miscopying. Harcourt (p. 117, 8th line) writes Minapa, which is a possible name enough: the description of the locality corresponds in both cases.

*Arowatta*¹, a Towne situate on the same side of the Riuer (whose inhabitants be *Careebees* but a good prettie² way beyond, whose Chiefetaine is *Seepane*. Eightly, *Comurraty*, a Towne situate beyond *Arowatta*, on the other side of the Riuer, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*, and Chiefetaine is *Parapane*. Ninthly, *Pasim*, a Towne situate beyond *Comurratie* on the same side of the Riuer whose Inhabitants be *Careeb*, and Chiefetaine is *Tanatweya*. Tenthly, *Paramaree*, a Towne situate beyond *Pasim* on the other side of the Riuer, inhabited by *Careebees*, whose Chiefetaine is *Iuara*. There is beyond *Paramaree* a lone house, beeing situate some dayes iourney from *Paramaree* on the same side of the Riuer being inhabited by *Careebees*. Eleuently, about some eleuen daies iourney beyond the lone house there is a towne called *Tauparamunni*, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*. Twelfthly, a³ daies iourney from thence is another Towne called *Moreesheego*, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees*. About some twentie daies iourney beyond *Moreesheego* is a Towne called *Aretonenne*, whose Inhabitants be *Careebees* hauing verie long eares hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to be a very gentle and louing people⁴. Some twentie daies farther is the head of the Riuer *Marwin*, where dwell *Parawagatos*, *Arwaccas*, and *Suppay*, and after a daies iourney in the Land, they report the way to be very faire, and Champian ground with long grasse⁵.

¹ Clearly the Erwoedy of Tatton's map—a very curious transliteration: see also Introductory note, p. 166.

² Note this variant of our "pretty good" unless it is simply a slip in writing or printing: for the *Oxf. Dict.* apparently does not indicate any parallel use.

³ See Introductory note, p. 169; probably the "a" is a misreading of "4."

⁴ Purchas here has a marginal note: "Long eares, perhaps made by art, with hanging weights thereon, as is used in the East Indies." These are doubtless a different tribe from those described by Harcourt himself on Fisher's authority: see p. 120.

⁵ See Introductory note, p. 164 *supra*: for "Champion," see note on p. 82.

*Townes from the foot of Marwin on the
Northside along the Sea.*

First, *Equiwibone*, a Towne inhabited by *Arwaccas* and *Parawagotos*. Secondly, *Caycooseoccooro*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Woacomo*. Thirdly, *Amypea* inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Fourthly, about six mile within Land is *Careebée*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Aramea*. Fifthly, *Wia Wiam*¹, about two miles from the Sea, a Towne inhabited by *Yaios*, *Parrawagotos* and *Arwaccas*, whose Chiefetaine is *Arapowaca*. Sixthly, *Soorry Soorry*, some two mile directly farther toward the Sea side, inhabited by *Parawagotos*, whose Chiefetaine is *Resurrima*. Seuently, *Amiebas*, a little distant from *Soory Soory*, inhabited by *Parawagotos*. Eighthly, *Vieguano*, some sixe mile beyond *Soory Soory*, inhabited by *Yaos* and *Parawagotos*. Ninthly, *Vrarinno* adioyning to *Vieguano*, inhabited by *Arwaccas* and *Parawagotos*. Tenthly, *Surarer* a daies iourney beyond *Wia Wiam* vp into the Land inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Eleuently, *Simarra*, some sixe miles distant from *Wia Wiam*, inhabited by *Arwaccas*. Twelfthly, *Caure*, a Towne adioyning to *Simarra*, in-

¹ For the most part the names in this district must remain quite unidentified; they leave the impression of being badly transcribed, and in Purchas's volume there are also some obvious misprints. But this "Wia Wia[m]" is mentioned pointedly by Harcourt (p. 118) as "some leagues to the West of Marrawini," and as reached by him after coming down the river: he states that Maperitaka and Arapawaka are chief captains: and he has a marginal note "Viawia a Towne of 20 houses." Further he states that here he left Unton Fisher and his companions. Somewhat earlier (p. 117, l. 4) he refers to Maperitaka as at Moyemon. All this must have been his own first-hand information. Now the Fisher document (p. 173 *supra*) describes Moyemon in a manner quite corresponding to Harcourt but adds that it is "a large Towne where are some twentie houses all builded very lately": and here gives Wiawiam as a Town "whose Chiefetaine is Arapowaca." The explanation of apparent discrepancies seems to be that the towns were two similar alternative residences of certain Indians of two tribes with two separate headmen: probably one Chief was a Yaio, the other a Paragoto.

habited by *Arwaccas*. Thirteenthly, *Concoere*, a Towne adioyning to *Caure*, inhabited by *Parawagotos*, and *Arwaccas*.

To most of these places there can be no passage but by Canoas in the Winter being marsh-meadowy grounds, ouerflowne with swelling Tides¹. But in the Summer it is faire, and then they hide their Canoas in the Woods by the Sea-side.

As for the Riuer of *Marwin*, there are no other Riuers which fall into it: but there be many Ilands, and some very great. The passage to the head thereof from the men with long eares is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concaue Rockes, wherein harbour Bat-mise² of an vnreasonable bignesse, which with their clawes and wings doe wound the Passengers shrewdly: yea, and oftentimes depriue them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very darke; for the Rockes are close aboue, and in fashion like an *Indian* house) they are inforced to make great fires in their Canoas, and put ouer their heads some of their Crab-baskets to defend them from the force of their clawes and wings, and so they safely passe.

There is a *Chareebee* (with whom I am very well acquainted) whose name is *Carouree* who assured me of certaine transparent stones, both of a greene³ and red colour, which hee described by a greene eare-ring which

¹ This description of itself indicates exactly where all these villages lay—in the low country, largely overgrown with forest, near the sea-coast north-west of the Marrawini mouth. Such another district is that to the east of the Orinoco within the borders of British Guiana, of which the station of Morawhanna is centre.

² Evidently vampires, but the story here given mixes exaggerated and fanciful details; no similar legend has been traced elsewhere.

³ Purchas has a marginal note of interest at this point, viz. “see A. Knivet.” Knivet was one of the party which accompanied Sir Thomas Candish in his journey to the South Seas in 1591. His account of their adventures is found in Purchas, vol. iv (bk vi, ch. vi), 1201 *sqq.*: at p. 1214 he refers to a mountain of green stones. Compare Rich. Schomb. II, sec. 605–8 for these green Amazon stones.

I shewed him, affirming they were somewhat bigger, and that they lay in a little gutter at the head of the Riuer, which ran in a Valley betweene two Hills.

I was further informed by a *Taio*, an ancient man¹ (who came downe from the head of the Riuer *Selinama*² in a little Canoa, with foure other, and a boy; three of which were *Arwaccas*, and one *Taio*, who was borne in *Orenog*, and as I iudge, about the age of fourescore yeeres, or little lesse) who reported to mee, that hee was one of them which with *Morequito* and *Putimay*³, was at the killing of nine *Spaniards*, and a *Spanish Pedas*⁴; and how *Morequito* was put to death, and a great many of his *Indians* hanged: himselfe was taken prisoner, and pinched with Pinfers for his punishment, and his eares nailed to wood, which I coniecture was a Pillourie. Besides, they rubbed his body ouer with salt mixt with Urine, after they had pinched him, and fetcht blood, and after tyed him vp in chaines. The reason why they put him not to death, was becaufe hee had beene a great Traueller and knew the Countries well, and so they kept him for a Guide.

It so chanced, that the *Spaniards*, vpon his informing them of the *Cassipagotos* Countrie, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it: the Captaine of the *Spaniards* was called *Alexander*, as he saith. But the *Cassipagotos* knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out, then trust to his clemency, and so ouerthrew him and his companie, driuing them to their Canoas, in which fight he escaped: But yet afterward it was his mishap to be againe in the hands of his aduerfarie by the meanes of *Caripana* King of *Emeria*⁵, and put in chaines, and

¹ His name given below is Weepackea, if the form is correct.

² *I.e.* Surinama.

³ Putyma in Raleigh's *Discoverie* (Hak. Soc. 1st ser. vol. III), p. 68.

⁴ "Pedas" = priest (probably a miscopy or misprint for *pees*, see p. 179 *ad med.*). For the slaughter of these *Spaniards* and death of *Morequito*, see Raleigh, *op. cit.* pp. 37, 80.

⁵ For the first mention of *Emeria*, see Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 75.

handled cruelly. His body was besmeared, as he said, with a yellow stone; for so he called it, which I take to be Brimstone, and so set on fire on his body, and after that he was well, and his skinne smooth and faire, they anointed him with honie from top to toe, and so scattered dust vpon him, in which were millions of Pismires, tying him in chaines to a great tree, where Muskitos flockt about him like moates in the Sunne, and did pitifully sting him, then which death had beene better, as hee said¹. Within some small space hee with another *Yaio*, and three *Arwaccas* were chosen to goe a fishing some two dayes iourney from the Towne. Likewise there went as ouerseers ouer them foure *Spaniards*, three of which, while they were a fishing, went into the Wood a fowling, and the fourth which was left for the ouerfeer by chance fell asleepe, which they espying, agreed to release themselues and to slip from the shoare with their Canoa, and went vp *Selinama* feuen dayes iourney within land from the head thereof to a Towne of the *Arwaccas*, called *Cooroopon*², where he now dwelleth, whose name is *Weepackea*; and the chiefe *Arwacca* which came with him is called *Edaddeawa*, and the Captaine of *Cooroopon* is called *Nausheckehan*. This *Yaio* told mee of a Mountaine at the head of *Dissikeebiee*³ which is called *Oraddoo*⁴, where is a great

¹ At this point Purchas has a marginal note, comparing Spanish tortures chronicled by Sir Francis Drake, but the cruelty of the Spaniards is too notorious to require particular comment. Pismires of course are ants.

² This town Cooroopon accordingly becomes a centre of interest to the narrator: see his itineraries appended to this account.

³ I.e. of course Essequibo.

⁴ The mountains on the Essequibo are well known through the explorations of Sir Robert Schomburgk: there is none that corresponds in name with Oraddoo. By a metathesis one might identify it with Dororu of Schomburgk (*Braz. App.* III, p. 36) if there were any other reason for so doing. It is however more than likely that the Indian was trying to convey to his hearer that this was the *Eldorado* or golden hill for which he had heard so many inquiries. Some allowance must be made for misunderstandings of this sort in the case of unfamiliar languages. For the "great Rocke of white Spar," cf. Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 59.

Rocke of white Spar, which hath streams of Gold in it about the breadth of a Goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also he speaketh of a Plaine which is some seven or eight dayes journey from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines so big as the top of a mans finger, and after the floods be fallen they finde them, which Plaine is called *Mumpara*.

Further, he spake of a Valley not farre distant from thence, which is called *Wancoobanona*, which hath the like: and he said, they gather them the space of two moneths together; which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and grauell from the grasse which groweth in turfets, and then they may perceiue the Gold lie glistering on the ground¹. And of these they are very charie. And the Captaines and Priests or *Peeays* doe charge the *Indians* very strictly, yea with punishment of the whip, that they be secret, and not reueale it to the *Spaniard*. But it seemeth they are willing the *English* should haue it, or else hee would neuer haue related so much of the state of his Countrie.

He spake very much of Sir *Walter Raleigh*: he likewise knew *Francis Sparrow*², and the boy which Sir *Walter* left behind him at *Topiawary*³ his house. He further said, that *Topiawary* wondred that he heard not from Sir *Walter*, according to his promise: and how *Topiawary* did verily thinke, that the *Spaniard* had met with him, and so had slaine him. Further, hee saith how *Topiawary* is dead, and how one *Roponoyegrippa* succeeded in his roome. Likewise he sayth *Caripana*⁴ the King of *Emeria*, who was very subiect to the *Spaniard*, and did once betray him to the *Spaniard*, is

¹ In this there is nothing improbable. We have known in recent times that there are valuable placer mines in parts of British Guiana where gold was won on the surface.

² For this man see Raleigh's *Discoverie* (*op. cit.* pp. 95-7) and *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. iv (bk vi, ch. xi), pp. 1247-50.

³ For *Topiawari*, see Raleigh (*op. cit.* pp. 38, 68, 78, 95).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 177 *ad fin.*, as to the narrator's misadventure with this chief.

now dead: at which he seemed not a little to reioyce; and how one *Dothronias* is in his place, and is a good King, holding Armes against the *Spaniard* with the *Cassipagotos*¹, and giuing him many ouerthrowes, so that now hee hath cleare left *Disfikeebie* and not a *Spaniard* there². He likewise said, how *Topiawary* had drawne in the *Indians* of *Wariwackeri*³, *Amariocupana*, *Aromaya*³, *Wickery*, and all the people that belonged to *Wanuritone*, Captaine of *Canuria*, and *Wacariopea* Captaine of *Sayma* against Sir *Walter Raleigh* his comming to haue warred against the *Yeanderpuremei*⁴: And as yet *Wanuritone* and *Wacariopea* doe expect his comming. He addeth further, how he knew the two Nations of *Tiuitiuas*, called *Ciawana* and *Warawitty*⁵, who are forced in the fouds to build their houses on the top of trees. And now he saith the *Spaniard* hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping diuers of them to make and mend his Canoas. Further hee knew *Toparimacca*⁶, and sayth hee is yet liuing, and Captaine of *Arawaca* a *Napoy*, who likewise doth expect Sir *Walter* his com-

¹ See p. 177 *supra*. These were the people who lived on the banks of the big lake Cassipa. The lake is marked large on Raleigh's map to the north of the mythical Parime: it looms large on Sanson's map of 1654: in D'Anville's great map it is reduced to very small proportions, almost a sort of enlargement of a tributary of the Orinoco. On modern maps it has disappeared. The tradition of great lakes dies hard in Guiana: see Schomburgk in *Braz. App.* III, p. 31 *ad fin.* and his note to his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie*, *op. cit.* p. 84.

² The suggestion of Spaniards in Essequibo at this time is the basis of statements like: "The Spaniards from St Thomé formerly traded there but now they dare not go there." But it is hardly substantiated.

³ The names Wariwackeri (apparently Arawack with termination *ghiri*) and Aromaia appear on the early maps. Raleigh (*op. cit.* p. 84) has "Iwarakeri."

⁴ This word looks very like a piece of muddled writing. The *Epuremei* are one of Raleigh's tribes (*op. cit.* p. 77): the other letters suggest a corruption of "Yaio and." Cf. Schomburgk's note, *ibid.* p. 97.

⁵ See Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 48 and Schomburgk's note on p. 49; also *Ven. App.* I, p. 9 E. The "two nations" are doubtless families of the tribe: see Introduction, pp. 23-4 *supra*.

⁶ See Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 64. The following words, which are not very clear, are explained in *ibid.* pp. 66-7.

ming, and had drawne a companie of *Indians* for the aide and assistance of Sir *Walter*. Likewise, how *Putimay*¹ is yet liuing, and how the *Spaniards* haue layd great waite for him, but could neuer finger him to bee reuenged for his part of killing the nine *Spaniards*. Further he addeth, how the *Spaniards* were killed at a Mountaine called *Riconeri* in *Putimays* Countrie, and how *Putimay* expected long for Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Likewise he saith, how the *Epeuremei* haue now two very faire Townes, one called *Aruburguary*, and the other *Corburrimore*: and saith, they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher then their heads², which he called *Wywaypanamy*, and offereth to goe with me thither if I come vp in their high Countrie. For since the death of *Topiawary* they are friends, and bend their forces against the *Spaniards*. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke vnder a Mountaines side, which is called *Mattuick*, that on a Sun-shine day if a man looked on it, it would dazle his eyes exceedingly³. Hee shewed mee before his departure from me, a piece of metall fashioned like an Eagle⁴, and as I ghesse, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight, it seemed to be Gold or at leastwise two parts Gold and one Copper, I offered him an Axe, which he refused; to which I added foure Kniues, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the *Dutch* at *Selinama* haue bought it of him, for their only coming⁵ was for Axes, as he said, hearing that the *Dutch* were at *Selinama*. I demanded where hee had that Eagle, his answere was, hee had it of his Vncle, who

¹ See note on p. 177 *supra*.

² See Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 85 and note, and the illustration on Hondius' map, where the name is written Iwaipanoma.

³ Compare Raleigh's account of such a mountain (*op. cit.* p. 101 and note). As for Crystal mountains generally see *Storm* (Hak. Soc. II, xxvi, pp. 74-5).

⁴ See *Relation*, p. 108 *supra*.

⁵ It is evident that all these natives wanted were axes and Fisher had only one: he could not bid high enough. See Edmundson in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* vol XXI, pp. 237-40.

dwelt among the *Weearapoyns*¹ in the Countrie called *Sherumerrimary* neere the *Cassipagotos* Countrie where is great store of these Images. Further he said, that at the head of *Selinama* and *Marwin* there were great store of the halfe Moones², which hee called by the name of *Vnnaton*. He likewise spake of a very faire and large Citie in *Guiana*, which hee called *Monooan*³, which I take to be that which Sir *Walter* calleth *Manoa*, which standeth by a salt Lake which he called *Parroowan* *Parrocare* *Monooan*, in the Prouince of *Afalcona* the chiefe Captaine or *Acariwannora*⁴, as he called him, was called *Pepodallapa*. He further said, that after that a man is vp at the head of the Riuer and some ten dayes iourney within the Land, euery childe can tell of the riches of *Monooan*. Further he addeth, how that once in euery third yeere all the *Cassiques* or Lords and Captaines some feuen dayes iourney from *Manooan* doe come to a great drinking⁵, which continueth for the space of ten dayes together, in which time they goe sometimes a fishing, fowling, and hunting, their fishing is in the salt Lake, where is abundance of Canoas, and those very great. They haue many fish-pooles of standing water, wherein they haue abundance of Fish. They haue store of wilde Porkes and Deere, and other beasts, which are very good⁶ meate. Their Houses be made with many

¹ The names are puzzling without further light.

² See *Relation*, p. 108 *supra*; but "Unnaton" is a puzzle: it almost suggests a confusion in conversation with Fisher's own name Unton.

³ An interesting example of variation in pronunciation. There seems to be no ground for doubting that Fisher's informant did reproduce the story of the fabulous city, or something which closely corresponded to it. The fabled lake is cited by Raleigh as salt (*op. cit.* p. 18), and so shewn on Hondius' map. Of the three names thrown together in this narrative Parroowan and Parrocare may both be attempts to get that which Raleigh gives as Parima.

⁴ An unfamiliar title, but cf. Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 7 and Schomburgk's note. The name Pepodallapa, like others in this narrative, is not very convincing.

⁵ A great Piwarrie feast magnified in detail. See pp. 77 and 92 *supra*.

⁶ Cf. the *Relation*, p. 95, and Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 111.

lofts and partitions in them, but not boorded, but with barres of wood, onely the lower floore on the ground is spread with clay very smooth, and with fires hardned¹, as they doe their pots, then presently they build their houses, as is before spoken of. Also he affirmeth, that within the Citie at the entring in of their houses they hang *Carocoore*² on the posts which I take to be Images of gold.

*Directions to the Towne of Cooropan
from Marrawin*³.

FROM the head of *Marrawin* to *Itshuerwa*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Caperocca*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to a Mountaine called *Payen*: from thence to *Vna*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Youwalprenay*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tetat-tecoomoyneto*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tun-stoorito*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Soynoon*, a *Parawag* Towne: from thence to *Grooroorere*, a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Macatana* a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Pipicorwarra*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Shadden*, an *Arwacca* Towne: from thence to *Lonnoo*, an *Arwacca* Towne: from thence to *Horurra* a Mountaine: from thence to *Habittebin*, a Plaine: from thence to *Warooca*, an *Arwac.* Towne: from thence to *Hardoo* an *Arwacca*; and from thence to *Coorepon*, where he dwelleth, which he saith is but ten dayes journey from the head of *Marrawin*.

*Directions from the head of Selinama to Cooropan,
which is but seven dayes journey.*

FROM the head of *Selinama* to *Kiarno* a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Pommaro* a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Scooadoddepon* an *Arwac* Towne: from thence to *Sickene* a Mountaine: from

¹ For the phrase cf. the *Relation*, p. 87 *supra*

² See *Relation*, p. 108. Cf. Schomburgk's note (*Hak. Soc.* III, p. 100).

³ For the two itineraries which follow see Introductory note, p. 170.

thence to *Shuhurway* an *Arwac* Towne: from thence to *Hadarinner* a *Suppay* Towne: from thence to *Weeatoo-pona*, *Arwac*: from thence to *Ruttrahar*, *Arwac*: from thence to *Caboyetitte*, *Arwac*: from thence to *Heeanannerre*, *Suppay*: from thence to *Wabockeyaway*, *Arwac*: from thence to *Hanamob*, *Arwac*: from thence to *Mut-tuggabee*, a Mountaine; and so to *Cooropon*, which is but feuen dayes iourney from the head of *Selinama*.

He likewise faith it is but a moneths iourney by land, from the head of *Marrawin* to the head of *Diffikeebbee*, and from the head of *Diffikeebbee* to the head of *Orenog*, a moneths trauell.

*Riuers from Brabiffe to the Amazonas*¹.

RIVERS.	NATIONS.	<i>Orenoco.</i>	<i>Yaios Arwac.</i>
<i>Brabiffe.</i>	<i>Chareebes.</i>	<i>Emataccoo.</i>	<i>Chareebes.</i>
<i>Winniepa.</i>	<i>Chareebes.</i>	<i>Eparramoo.</i>	<i>Chareebes.</i>
<i>Arew.</i>	<i>Napoys.</i> ²	<i>Aratooree.</i>	<i>Chareebes.</i>
<i>Mannapoo.</i>	<i>Napoys.</i>	<i>Amockooroo.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Muccauren.</i>	not inhabited.	<i>Pareema.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Morecoofe.</i>	<i>Napoys.</i>	<i>Wine.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Arawon.</i>	not inhabited.	<i>Moroka.</i>	<i>Yaios.</i>

¹ For general remarks on this table of Rivers see Introductory Note, pp. 167–8. It takes the rivers in the reverse direction from the table appended to the *Relation*. A few remarks in elucidation are desirable; otherwise the names can be followed on the map.

In the first place the table has bad errors of copying, e.g. Keribisse for Berbice. The first name is less a miscopy than a variant of Ouarabichi.

The first column covers tributaries or mouths of the Orinoco: Winniepa suggests confusion between Guanipa and Europa of Sanson's map: Mannapoo is clearly Manavo. It would with time be possible to identify each one. Next to the Orinoco are the tributaries near its delta on the eastern side: Imataca, Arature, etc. Then come the Amacura, Barima and other rivers of what is now British Guiana in their proper order, as far as the Essequibo's great tributaries, where one must bring in the block of eleven streams beginning with the Demerara river. It is noticeable that the curious spelling of some of these is exactly as in the list appended to the *Relation* itself. They were outside the area which Harcourt himself knew and it would seem that he accepted them from his subordinate without alteration: in other cases he is more precise.

² The Napoys belong to the Orinoco region: cf. Raleigh, *op. cit.* p. 108. Yet see Scott's remark (Harlow, *op. cit.* p. 121), "the Nepoyes or Sepoyes Nation (for they call themselves by both those names)."

Rivers from Brabiffe to the Amazonas (cont.)

RIVERS.	NATIONS.		
<i>Paurooma.</i>	<i>Arwaccas.</i>	<i>Wiapoco.</i>	<i>Yaios.</i>
<i>Wacapwhou.</i> ¹	<i>Arwaccas.</i>	<i>Aroocona.</i> ⁸	<i>Areecola.</i>
<i>Diffikeeb.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>	<i>Casippooroo.</i>	<i>Areecool.</i>
* <i>Quiowinne.</i> ²	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Connawin.</i>	<i>Yao.</i>
* <i>Matooronee.</i> ²	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Miocaree.</i>	<i>Areecool.</i>
<i>Marrawin.</i>	<i>Para.Ya.Cha.</i>	[<i>Demeerare.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>
	<i>& Arwa.</i>	<i>Miconine.</i> ⁹	<i>Arwac.</i>
<i>Amanna.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Wapary.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>
<i>Vraco.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>	<i>Mauhica.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>
<i>Coonannoma.</i>	<i>Arwac.</i>	<i>Keribisse.</i> ¹⁰	<i>Arwac.</i>
<i>Ooraffowinni.</i>	not inhabited.	<i>Coretine.</i>	<i>Chareeb. Arw.</i>
<i>Sinomarra.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Eneecare.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Mannomanury.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Coopanomi.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Ecaurwa.</i> ³	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Soorammo.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Caurooroo.</i> ³	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Surenname, alias,</i>	
<i>Muccurrie.</i> ⁴	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Selinama.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Kiam.</i> ⁵	<i>Chareeb.</i>	† <i>Camouree, alias,</i>	
<i>Wia.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>	† <i>Commaawin.</i>] ¹¹
<i>Kowo.</i> ⁶	not inhabited.	<i>Arowaree.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>
<i>Apoorwacca.</i>	<i>Chareeb.</i>	<i>Arapoco.</i>	
<i>Wannase.</i> ⁷	<i>Yaios.</i>	<i>Amazona.</i>	

* Branches of *Diffikeeb.*† Branches of *Selinama.*

Topaniwinni, a Branch of *Marwin*, at the head thereof going toward *Oronoq*, in which dwell a wilde People called *Vrokere*, which are swift in running.

The *Chareebes* with long eares are called *Nooraco*. *Ekinicke*, a kinde of worme, which poisoneth the water¹².

¹ *I.e.* *Wacquepo* (or *Wakapau*) of modern maps.² *I.e.* *Cuyuni* and *Massaruni*: cf. Introductory note, p. 166 *supra*.³ Apparently the reporter had two shots at the *Courwo*, and duplicated the river. The initial "E" in one case shews the effort to get at a new word.⁴ *I.e.* *Mecooria* or *Macaria* of others.⁵ Clearly *Cayenne*: but a curious attempt at the name.⁶ This stream seems to be misplaced with the *Aprovak* (*Apoorwacca*).⁷ Clearly one of this scribe's miscopyings—for *Wianari*.⁸ For *Arracow*.⁹ Now spelt *Mahaicony*.¹⁰ As stated in note on previous page, clearly a miscopying for *Berbice*. *Harcourt* has *Berebisce*.¹¹ The rivers included between these square brackets were doubtless intended to be enumerated before "*Marrawin*" in the previous column: see p. 168 *supra ad init*.¹² Whether this last paragraph belongs to the report or is a comment by *Purchas* must remain doubtful.



APPENDIX III

NOTE ON THE SPECIAL MAP DRAWN TO ACCOMPANY THE PRESENT VOLUME

Mr Milne has devoted such care and thought to the preparation of the special map accompanying this edition that a brief indication of the material which he used will at least be interesting.

In preparing a map which covers four present-day political units, Mr Milne has availed himself of the best maps published in respect of each of these areas: for the part of Guiana which is now British the official map of 1924¹, for that which is Dutch the *Overzichtskaart van Surinama* of 1913, for French Guiana Guffroy's large map of 1895-1901, and for the country which is now Brazil a section prepared by the Brazilian Society of Engineers as their contribution to the International map of the world. He has also used the Admiralty charts of the coast and such special studies as that of William Curtis Farabee² in the country at the sources of the Essequibo and the Corentyne.

The basis of every modern map is survey. In a vast and wild country accurate survey is a very laborious matter. Some so-called surveys, even when they call themselves official, are worthless³. Both British Guiana and French Guiana have been tolerably well served in this direction, but efforts are far from final. In the former Sir R. Schomburgk between 1839 and 1844, Mr Barrington Brown in 1870-2, and the Delimitation

¹ All maps of British Guiana go back to those prepared by Sir R. Schomburgk in 1841-4 when he was Boundary Commissioner for the British Government.

² *Bulletin of Geographical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. xv, p. 40, etc.

³ The Venezuelan Brazilian Delimitation Commission of 1883-4 was found to have never been in the country on which it reported.

Commission between 1900 and 1912 have laid a basis for generally accurate maps: yet recently Mr Farabee has challenged the accuracy of some of Schomburgk's delineation. In Cayenne, Mr Coudreau and others have done work which is quite worthy of comparison with the British surveys, and one can accept the results plotted in Mr Guffroy's large map. Some recent exploration has been done in Dutch Guiana (Surinam), but the greater part of that territory is still practically unknown. Mr Milne has taken great pains to check all detail and go over it with the editor.

INDEX

[The perfect index is difficult of attainment. That now submitted will not emulate the detail of Sir J. de Villiers' index to *Storm van 's Gravesande* (Hak. Soc. ser. II, vol. XXVII) which becomes almost a treatise in itself. Nor will it indicate matter which can be gathered from the Table of Contents. It is limited to certain special names or ideas which a reader may, after perusal, require for further reference.]

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